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MEMOIR,

OR

DEFENCE OF

HUGH PETERS.

BY

JOSEPH B. FELT.

"Justitia est habitus animi suum cuique tribuens."—*Cicero.*

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY C. C. P. MOODY, 52 WASHINGTON STREET.
1851.

HUGH PETERS,

Arch Intendant of England.

Born 1599, Executed 1660.

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MEMOIR.

It is well known, that the view taken of men and things, accords with the medium, through which they are observed. If such medium be clear and correct, it will, of course, give a right impression. If not, the reverse holds true. This accounts for the diversity of opinions entertained of the person, who heads this article.

No doubt, as subject to the elements of imperfection, he had, like all his race, faults to correct and omissions of obligation to deplore. But, looking at him as he really was, or supposed to be, some have esteemed him talented, learned, honest, benevolent, and magnanimous, — a benefactor of his fellow-beings and a true servant of God, — while others have denied him these excellencies of character. Among the former class we profess ourselves to be numbered. This is a principal inducement to the preparation of the subsequent notice.

The parentage of Peters (1) was highly respectable. His father, son of Sir John, (2) was an eminent merchant of Fowey (3) in Cornwall, whose ancestors, as advocates of the Reformation, were compelled to flee thither from the city of Antwerp. His mother, Elizabeth, was of an ancient and honourable family, whose name was Treffey of Place in the Town of his birth. Though while referring to this subject, he regarded such descent as desireable, yet he appreciated personal merit as of far greater worth.

The birth of Peters was in 1599. By the time he was prepared to enter college, adversity crossed the prosperous enterprise of his father. His elder brothers were liberally educated, the one, Wil-

(1) Part of this account is given in his Legacy and the rest by his biographer, Samuel Peters, LL.D.

(2) He spelt his surname, Peter.

(3) Camden remarks, "Fowy was very famous in the last age for sea-fights, as is plain from the arms of the place, which are a compound of all these of the Cinque ports."

liam, at Leyden University, and the other, Thomas, at Oxford. While the second was pursuing his studies at the last place, Hugh entered Trinity of Cambridge, 1613, where he took his A.B. in 1617, and his A.M. 1622.

It is remarkable, that Brook, in his lives of the Puritans, should so readily credit the slander of Kennet's Chronicles, when he had it in his power so easily to have corrected the error. In his account of Peters, he says, "It is indeed observed, that when he was at Cambridge, he was so lewd and insolent, as to be whipt in the Regent's walk — a punishment scarcely ever inflicted upon any since, or perhaps a long time before, and so expelled forever from the University." A look at the graduating catalogue of the University, shows the utter falsity of his expulsion, being the greater punishment, and thus strongly implies, that the less and its assigned cause are of an equally reckless and incredible character.

Peters was connected with this Seat of Learning nine years, where, as he candidly remarks, "I spent some years vainly enough, being but 14 years old when thither I came; my Tutor died, and I was exposed to my shifts." The perils of his inexperience, united with the loss of his appointed adviser and protector, were indeed great. Thus situated, he gave evidence of his generous, strong, and filial affection. He relates, "that estate I had by an uncle, I left with my mother and lived at the University." Such self-denial indicates, that, however he may have indulged in youthful gayeties, and not thus have so closely applied himself to study as he should, he still abstained from spending his substance in dissipation. About to leave the scene of his literary course, where the principles and character of young men pass through a fiery ordeal, and where, too often, they are destroyed or greatly injured in the trial, Peters took his way to London. There the covenant promise to his fathers was fulfilled in himself. There the arrow of revealed truth fastened upon his heart, and constrained him to call on the Great Physician for healing mercy. His words, in reference to such experience, follow: "God struck me with the sense of my sinful estate, by a sermon I heard under Pauls. The text was The Burden of Dumah, and stuck fast." This important event in his religious life, occurred when he was about 23 years of age. He regarded it with all the seriousness, with which it is clad by the unerring wisdom of the Gospel.

Granger mentions the gossip of envy, that after Peters left College, "he betook himself to the stage, where he acquired that gesticulation and buffoonery which he practised in the pulpit." The candid representation, which his Legacy gives of the manner, in which he spent his time in useful engagements, forbids the allowance of such a report. Indeed, it shows that his heart was turned to the Sanctuary, soon after he left College, instead of the Theatre.

His mind being brought to dwell thus unusually on spiritual subjects, he retired to Essex. Here he was much assisted by

Thomas Hooker, in the solution of his doubts, the confirmation of his faith, and the increase of his hopes. What he had so learned to be of more worth, than all the treasures of earth, became the theme of his instructions to others. Thus, almost before he was aware, like the Apostle Paul, he found himself invested with the anxieties and encouragements of delivering to attentive audiences, the message of eternal life. Still he considered himself not sufficiently prepared in his studies, for so high a calling. He, therefore, decided to take up his abode in the metropolis. Before, however, he did this, he became attached to a lady, and, as he describes it, "married with a good gentlewoman."

Having returned to London, he attended on the ministry of Gouge, Sibs and Davenport. His intention was, for the present, to be a learner and not a teacher of theology. But the importunity of friends was stronger than his purpose. Being licensed by Dr. Montaigne, Bishop of the same city, he yielded to their wishes. While he officiated at a certain place, a young man was much interested in him and his discourses, and made strenuous exertions to have him preach at St. Sepulchre's once a month. The person so energetic, gave, as an earnest of his sincerity, £30 a year for such an object. Success crowned his efforts, and he was highly gratified to hear Peters in the pulpit, where he wished to have him appointed.

Here throngs listened to the fervid and impressive eloquence of Peters. Like the more modern Wesley and Whitefield, his popularity would soon draw together a multitude. His motive, like theirs, was not mere worldly applause. It was lighted and purified at the alter of Christian truth, and it raised his aspirations and modified his toils, so as to benefit his hearers in their spiritual and eternal interests. Under such influence, sanctified to them by the Spirit of grace, "above an hundred every week were pursuaded from sin to Christ."

Thus borne along, Peters began to perceive, that every aspect was not bright and every way not smooth in his progress. Some looked on his career with envy, which exhibited itself in detraction and resistance. His right purposes and benevolent actions were wrested from their true direction, and represented in the dark hues of iniquitous selfishness. Others were angry, that he declined strict conformity with the Rubric and Liturgy. Conversant with men, like Davenport and Hooker, who afterwards became pillars of New England Congretionalism, he strongly desired and sought with them, for the reformation of what they deemed corruptions in the national Episcopacy. Of course, he was ranked with the Church Puritans, against whom James I. encouraged the Arminians and Papists, "who became a state faction against the old English Constitution." Such policy, intended by its promoters as their main dependance, ultimately proved as a broken staff. Before, however, its lack of wisdom and its essential weakness were sadly manifested, Laud, while

in power, risked his reputation and station on its practice. This Prelate was accustomed to remark of such preachers as Peters, "they were the most dangerous enemies of the State, because by their prayers and sermons they awakened the people's disaffection, and therefore must be suppressed." Brought into contact with the influences of such power, backed by the fullest support of the Crown, Peters was convinced, that he must either flee from it, or be crushed, as to his liberty and labors. Having concluded that duty required him, like many others, to give up all the endearments of native country, for a sojourn on foreign soil, he concluded to comply with the painful necessity. The particulars of the hard measure, he received from the hand of government, are scantily preserved. He modestly refers to it and briefly states it, "there, at St. Sepulchres, I had some trouble, who could not conform to all."

Referring to himself and others, who left home and kindred for the unmolested enjoyment of their religion, he adds, "Truly my reason for myself and others to go was merely not to offend authority in that difference of judgment, and had not the book for encouragement of Sports on the Sabbath come forth, many had staid."

Brook informs us through Huntley, that Peters, while praying for the Queen in the same church, used the words, "that as she came into the Goshen of safety, so the light of Goshen might shine into her soul, and that she might not perish in the day of Christ." This was a suitable petition for her majesty, who was a strenuous Catholic, by one who professed and preached the Protestant faith. But, as the same authority relates, such an utterance of his desires reached the ears of Laud, who forbid the continuance of his ministry, had him committed to close confinement in New Prison, and kept him there "some time before any articles were exhibited against him. Though certain noblemen offered bail for him, it was refused." At length he was released. Such was the treatment, which led him to the conclusion already mentioned.

While the law was brought to bear so heavily upon his person, the tongue of reproach wounded his spirit. Various writers have noticed the insinuation of Langbaine, that Peters had improper intimacy with the wife of one among his parishioners. Granger repeats the story, and says that in consequence of it "he fled to Rotterdam." Circumstances, strong as fact, with his own repeated denials, consign the accusation to the category of idle, if not malicious falsehood. At this very time, there is no appearance that his people had any belief of it; that the noblemen who were anxious to free him from imprisonment put the last confidence in it; that the worthies, with whom he was efficiently engaged in helping to colonize our territory, listened to it for a moment. And subsequently, there is not the least indication, that the English, who became a Congregational Church under him, on the Continent; that his eminent colleagues there, Ames and Davenport; that his distinguished friend, Forbes; that

the authorities and people of Massachusetts; that the men of high rank and character who were his firm patrons in his native kingdom; and the Parliament, who placed in him the greatest confidence, gave any credence to the story. Indeed, the many excellent persons, with whom he was most intimate, and whose enterprise for freedom, depended mainly on the purity of motive and example in themselves and associates, would have been the first to notice such a stain upon his character, had it existed, and to have withdrawn the hand and countenance of friendship from him, had he so forfeited their confidence. But the fact, that he pursued the straight course of obligation, as he believed it, and shared in their co-operation and support, is proof, that, however political foes threw out hints to blacken his reputation, they esteemed him honest and upright in all his relations of life. The intimations, that he left his country to be rid of the trouble, resulting from such an accusation, is clearly without the least proof. The reason for his exchange of residence, as given by himself and others, was to escape the persecution, to which his principles of non-conformity continually exposed him. Besides, had he so done, when, by continual intercourse between London and the Low Countries, his character would have followed him wherever he went, it would have been absurd for him to attempt another eligible settlement in the ministry, and gain friends among the best and most respected. But he did succeed in these worthy objects, and the inference justly is, that his was not the flight of a scape-grace. When under sentence of death, and in view of the solemnities of speedy judgment before an Omniscient arbiter, when solicitous that his motives and faith might bear the soul-searching scrutiny, a religious friend desired him to tell the truth on this very point. His hearty and serious reply was, "I bless the Lord I am wholly clear in that matter, and I never knew any woman but my own wife." In his dying counsels to his daughter, he adverted to the same matter and remarked, "By my zeal, it seems, I have exposed myself to all manner of reproach."

So situated, he was among many of the best men in England, who sympathized with the plans and endeavors of the Rev. John White, whose heart was set upon the preparation of a refuge in Massachusetts, for the troubled Puritans of his own country. Immediately after a Patent was obtained of the Council for New England, Peters was the first clergyman, who subscribed towards the funds for so needful and noble an enterprise. On this occasion, stirring to the hearts and hopes of those, who longed for a permanent abode, where all, tried like themselves, might enjoy their principles and forms of religion without molestation, he subscribed £50. The paper, for this purpose, was dated May, 1628. It began with words of solemnity, "In the name of God, Amen," and contained the petition, "Whereunto the Almighty grant prosperous and happy success, that the same may redound to his glory and the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

On the 30th of the same month, (1) deeply interested in the emigration of Endicott and his company for so elevated an object, Peters unites with thirteen others, in signing his instructions for the government of the Colony, already under the direction of the estimable Conant.

With his mind and heart on an undertaking, so congenial with his wishes and sentiments, the circumstances, which called for a removal, came to a crisis. He looked to Holland and New England as a field for his labor. The preponderance of present reasons favored the former. He went thither about the close of 1628, to ascertain more fully what would be the prospect of his usefulness in the Low Countries. In the mean while, he had serious thoughts of emigrating hither with Higginson, Skelton, and other ministers, to aid in the great work of founding a religious Commonwealth. He had returned to London by May 11, 1629, when he attended a Court of Assistants, who convened to hear the proposition of Oldham, relative to the Gorges Patent. This was embraced in the Charter of the Massachusetts Company, and, as to the manner of its being granted, was sensible evidence of the design, entertained by the royal party of England, to overthrow the liberties of Congregationalism in New Plymouth, and to crush their buddings wherever else they might appear. On the 13th, he was also at the Court of Election for officers of the same Corporation. The nature of their purpose was too much in harmony with his own convictions of what tended to the best welfare of his race, to allow his absence from such conventions. To meet his calculation for the period between this time and his emigration to America, he must have returned soon to Holland.

So constrained to forsake the society of his countrymen, with whom he loved to take counsel and co-operate for the preservation and spread of Puritanism, then the butt of ridicule with courtiers, he still continued his ministrations of the Gospel. The cause of Christianity was precious to him in every clime and under all changes. He realized the fact, that such was the infinite wisdom of its doctrines, they were suited to the necessities of his race, whatever might be their temporal condition, either prosperous or adverse, either as friends or foes, acquaintanees or strangers. He deeply felt, that the spiritual wants of all, with whom his lot was providentially cast, called for like sympathy, zeal, and exertion.

Though a minute and extended acquaintance with the events of his newly chosen residence, is very desirable to the inquirers, who would follow him, yet they can discover but a few scattered facts in the pursuit. He himself, though associated with some among the most worthy and distinguished of his profession, after specifying the years of his continuance, sententiously observes, that it was spent "not without the presence of God in my work."

In the answer of John Paget, minister of Amsterdam, to the publication of Davenport, as given by Hanbury, we have the

(1) The date here is as Hutchinson has it, but Young's Massachusetts Chronicles, p. 135, give Sept. 13, which is a mistake.

ensuing passage: "For Mr. Peters, though at his first coming I gave some way, and opposed not such as sought to have him here, yet after some time of his continuance in this country, when he was called and confirmed for Pastor of the English church at Rotterdam; when, after this, a new proposition was again made for calling him hither, I acknowledged that I did not consent unto it." He had previously declared, that he opposed the settlement of Ames and Forbes, because he disagreed with them on points of ecclesiastical order. It seemed that for a like cause, he was unwilling to favor the call of Peters in Amsterdam before and after his installation in Rotterdam.

Here Peters was colleague with the noted William Ames, who left a professorship at the University of Francker, to be united with him in Gospel labors, and who, like himself, was heartily interested in the experiment of the New England colonists. He was an intimate friend of one, who had been made bishop by James, but was obliged, through difference in opinion with the Covenanters, to leave a divinity professorship at Aberdeen. In reference to such a connexion, his words were, "I lived near that famous Scotsman, Mr. John Forbes, with whom I travelled into Germany, and enjoyed his society in much love and sweetness constantly, from whom I received nothing but encouragement, though we differed in the way of our churches." Enjoying the confidence and affection of his senior co-pastor, he was called, ere long, to be deprived of his advice and aid in the cure of souls. This event, which he sincerely lamented, took place Nov., 1633. Alluding to it, his language was, "The learned Amesius breathed his last into my bosom." For several months, and perhaps longer, before Hooker came to this country, in the same year, he assisted Ames, who was probably sick with the Asthma, to which he was subject, and thus was co-worker with Peters. By this means, Hooker and Peters renewed their former intimate friendship, and they with Ames, actuated by similar motives and purposes, were like a three fold cord, not easily broken.

In the able preface of Hooker to the celebrated work of Ames, "A fresh suit against human ceremonies in God's worship," he remarked of himself, the two with whom he was so united, and others dispersed abroad from their mother country or suffering at home — "Consider how many poor Ministers are under pressure, some fled, some imprisoned, many suspended, themselves and families undone." As Hooker embarked for this land of spiritual promise to all of kindred sentiment, prior to the decease of Ames, Peters was severely tried by being deprived of their society, in the course of a short period.

For nearly two years after the last of such bereavements, Peters faithfully discharged the duties of his high vocation. But to the interruption of his peaceable and beneficial labors, he perceived, that the influence of Bishop Laud, was increasingly extended, that the civil protection around his asylum, was not proof against the power of that Primate, whose room and library in part, were, in a

way, not yet revealed to mortal ken, to become his own for a series of years. On this point, Winthrop informs us, while speaking of Peters, "Who being persecuted by the English ambassador, who would have brought his and other churches to the English discipline."

Thus renewedly, though alike tried as before, the heart of Peters was still with the American home of the Puritans. For years he had considered himself pledged to conform with the call of his friends in Massachusetts, whenever the necessities of the colonists should cry, "Come over and help us." This message having reached him, he felt relieved from obligation to toil in the old world for the advancement of the cause, which he hoped to promote, more fully and speedily, where it had not the long established opposition of Royalty and Prelacy, immediately to encounter. Not only was he desirous, that he might be instrumental in helping to keep the flame of reformation alive among the civilized, but also to spread its rays among the benighted Indians. This two-fold object was the common profession of all the leading clergy and laity, who combined their energies in the wise and beneficial design of erecting a reformed State and Church, on these shores. Peters observed, that in relation to it, his own views, desires, and intentions harmonized with those of "that good man, my dear, firm friend, Mr. White of Dorchester."

So invited and sustained, he was deeply interested in every movement, which helped forward these objects in the western world. This very year, Lion Gardener, Engineer under the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries, "through the persuasion of Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Hugh Peters, and other well affected Englishmen of Rotterdam," makes an agreement with the "forenamed Mr. Peters, for four years, to serve the patentees, namely the Lord Say, the Lord Brook," and others. Such a compact had reference to the settlement of Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut, as another plantation chiefly for the spread of Gospel ordinances and influences. 1635. This year, Paget replied to a publication of Davenport, issued the year before, who had been his colleague in the ministry. The former, in remarking on the variance of his opinion on some points from that of other theologians, used this language: "Mr. Peters hath by his practice declared his judgment, that it is lawful to communicate with the Brownists in their worship, and by his example hath strengthened divers members of our Church therein; such as sundry of these complainants are, already too much addicted to resort unto the assembly of schismatics and to hear them!"

Doing in any direction what his hand found to do in the discharge of his obligations, Peters bid adieu to the diversified scene of his hopes and fears, consolations and trials, after "five or six years'" experience, and launched upon the ocean with his course directed hitherward. But being a marked man in the view of advocates for high church principles, they could not suffer him to depart in peace. Dr. Nichols, one of their champions, as quoted by Brook, represents that Peters was so unpopular, that he was

obliged to leave Rotterdam and seek for another sphere of occupation. The facts, however, that while in Massachusetts and subsequently in England, he was employed by the authorities to transact important business for them in Holland, because of his high repute and great influence there, shows that such a representation was the off-shoot of prejudice and not of truth.

After the usual occurrences in crossing the Atlantic, Peters arrived at Boston, Oct. 6, 1635, with many passengers in the ships, Abigail and Defence. Several ministers, embarked in the like sacred enterprise, came with him, as John Wilson, who had been here before, and Samuel Shepard. Their plan, like moral obligation, was perfect, but they well knew their own deficiency in corresponding excellence to carry it out, and, therefore, their supplications were frequent and fervent to Him, who giveth strength to the weak and help to the needy. Among his descriptions, Johnson says, "This year came over the famous Hugh Peters, whose courage was not inferior to any of these transported servants.

> With courage bold Peters, a Souldier stout,
> In Wildernesse for Christ begins to war."

With health some impaired and spirits usually buoyant, but occasionally much depressed, Peters was desirous to consult with the Elders here, face to face, and particularly as to his continuance in the country. He found the Colony in a condition of alarm, lest the government, at home, would fit out vessels of war for compelling them to surrender their charter, and also of perplexity from the opposition, made by Roger Williams and his friends against administering an oath of fidelity to the people, as a means of greater security. While in this attitude, he was far from folding his "hands to sleep." He divided his Sabbath labors between Boston and Salem. At the last Town, there had been much excitement and trouble in the Church, concerning the lamentable case of Williams, who was still there under sentence of banishment, and had withdrawn from worshipping with his parish. On this account, the ministrations of Peters had need of prudence consistent with truth, and without offence to minds, which were still chafed by disagreement on the points of their recent controversy.

From this quarter his attention was summoned to another. He signs with Winthrop and Henry Vane, as agents for Lords Say, Brook and associates, who were strong supporters of the Puritan cause, — an address to the emigrants, who had gone from the Bay to Connecticut and located themselves on the Patent, claimed by such noblemen and the rest of their company. The intent of the communication was to ascertain from the settlers, how they purposed to act with respect to the government, appointed by those proprietors.

The next month after Peters' arrival, he is mentioned by Winthrop, as active to free the colonists from impositions in traffick with "seamen and others." Such caution had reference to im-

ported goods, especially out-fits for the fishery. In the practice of it, Peters "moved the country to raise a stock." Under January of 1636, his success in this undertaking is described by Winthrop. He labored "publicly and privately, procured a good sum of money, and wrote into England to raise as much more. The intent was to set up a magazine of all provisions and other necessaries for fishing, that men might have things at hand for reasonable prices." Does the question here arise, why should he so meddle with worldly affairs? The reply is, that then whatever rightly tended to promote the temporal welfare of the Commonwealth, also aided to advance its spiritual interests, and was therefore considered laudible in the clergy as well as in the laity. Under such circumstances, the end consecrated the necessary means. 18th. Several of the principal men, as Haynes, the Governor, Bellingham, his Deputy, Cotton, Hooker and Wilson, having been invited by Peters and Henry Vane to meet them in Boston, are now accordingly convened. The occasion of this assemblage was to take measures for the suppression of a factious spirit, which prevailed, to some extent, among the people, and to settle a difference between Dudley and Winthrop. The latter object was speedily accomplished. With respect to the former, they make arrangements to rectify supposed faults in the past administration of Colonial affairs. Such advisers, with conscientious intentions to compass the end of their emigration, separated with the peaceful reflection, that they had consulted and decided in compliance with the dictates of their responsibility.

April 12. There being great scarcity of provisions, and the Charity from Dartmouth having arrived with supplies, they were purchased by Peters for the Towns, which suffered for the lack of them, at a great reduction from the usual excessive rates, demanded by the coast-traders. Such a labor of love for the public, was noticed with high appreciation.

Variously active as the wants of the Colony required, Peters was made partaker in part of the trials, which still betided the Salem Church, as the consequence of troubles with Williams. The last of these persons left some of his friends, who believed with him, that it was wrong even to attend on Episcopal worship in England, and to commune with those who did so when there, unless they reformed in their opinion and practice. This subject was left to the advice of Elders in other churches, who disapproved of such a position, though they commended toleration to its supporters while they walked orderly.

May 15. In a discourse before the Congregation of Boston, Peters made several requests of them. That they would release their Teacher, Cotton, for a season, that he might give marginal notes on the difficult passages of the Bible; "that a new book of martyrs might be made, to begin where the other had left; that a form of church government might be drawn according to the Scriptures;" that they would take steps to advance industrial

employments, especially in winter, among a portion of the colonists, whose omission of it threatened great injury to the "Church and Commonwealth."

May 25. With Vane, Winthrop, and other laymen, Cotton and Shepard, elders, Peters was requested by the General Court "to make a draught of laws agreeable to the Word of God, which may be fundamentals of this Commonwealth." In consequence of this movement, probably accelerated by the suggestion of Peters, Cotton produced "Moses his Judicials."

June. Peters sets out in company with Fenwick and others, on horseback, for the Patent of Lords Say, Brook, and associates. He had previously manifested his earnest wish for the furtherance of this newly settled Plantation. Owing to its weak and exposed condition, he and his friends promised to use their influence for the prevention of threatened war with the Pequods.

July 9. "Many ships lying at Natascott to set sail," he, desirous that the crews might hear the Gospel, went down and preached on board of the Hector. The commander of this vessel and others prevailed on Governor Vane to have the king's colors displayed on the Castle, though the colonists considered its cross as an idolatrous emblem. The fleet being still wind-bound, Peters tarried and spent the Sabbath with them in its appropriate duties. Wherever he perceived the most need of Christian instruction, he laid aside formalities and self-convenience, so that he might give it and so clear himself of conscious neglect.

Dec. 7. The controversy, occasioned by the speculations of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, came before the Legislature. It had drawn in Peters, as among the chief Elders, who anxiously watched its progress and strove to counteract its tendency. They had recently met and drawn up questions for Cotton, who, at first, favored her opinions. Being assured of this, Vane, who also advocated her cause, was disturbed, that he had not been advised of such a movement, and expressed himself accordingly. Peters replied, that it saddened the feelings of the ministers, while so in the discharge of what they deemed their obligation, that he should exhibit a jealousy of them and an inclination to abridge their liberty. Vane manfully apologized. Peters besought him, in view of his youth and short experience in the course of religion, to beware of hasty conclusions and measures. While these men of true worth, were so brought into temporary collision, their perception was unable to look through the veil of the future, and behold themselves perseveringly agreed in the support of freedom, at the hazard and final cost of their lives. Dec. 21. Having preached to great acceptance with the Salem Congregation, Peters became their pastor. No other minister's influence and labors in the Colony now equalled his, for Cotton's were in a short eclipse, through his leniency for the doctrines of Mrs. Hutchinson. As an assistant in his pastoral duties, Peters had George Burdet, popular for his talents, learning, and eloquence. The latter was employed at Salem in the year of the former's arrival, and continued there to the summer of 1637, but going soon after

to the eastward, he was discovered at York, 1639, as holding correspondence with Laud and others of the Lords Commissioners, in which he asserted, that Massachusetts aimed more at independence of the Crown, than reformation in ecclesiastical government.

1637, Jan. 19. The church of Peters, like the rest in the Jurisdiction, keep a fast-day, because of the distresses endured by Protestants in Germany, as the result of victories gained by the Imperialists; of the sufferings inflicted on ministers in England, whose conscientious scruples kept them from reading the Book of Sabbath sports; and of the religious discussions among the people here.

Aug. 30. At the Synod, convened at Newton, Peters was present with others of the Country. A main design with them was to collect the prevalent opinions, which they considered wrong and injurious, as well as to devise means for the suppression of animosity, which existed between the Legalists and Antinomians, so termed by each other. Of such opinions "about eighty-two were condemned by the whole Assembly."

Nov. 2. The expectation, which had been generally indulged, that the measures of the Synod would induce Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother-in-law, Wheelwright, to discontinue exertions for the spread of their creed, was disappointed. Hence, the General Court, being in session, arraigned both of them. After they had banished him for expressions in his sermon, which they construed as promotive of insurrection, they summoned her to answer. With accustomed ability she sustained a long and searching trial. Peters, as one of a committee, who waited on her to learn the principles, she really cherished, was an important witness. He stated his lothfulness to testify, unless required by the Court. On the Governor's intimation, that he should proceed, he remarked "We shall give you a fair account of what was said, and desire that we may not be thought informers against the gentlewoman." He went on to relate, that he and others called on Mr. Cotton concerning the reports of what Mrs. Hutchinson had said about the Elders. "So going on in the discourse, we thought it good to send for this gentlewoman, and she willingly came. I did then take upon me to ask her this question: What difference do you conceive to be between your Teacher and us? She answered that he preaches the covenant of grace and you the covenant of works, and you know no more than the Apostles did before the resurrection of Christ." She made some explanations, but they did not satisfy the Court. The conclusion was, that this Body felt themselves called to decide, that she should be banished from their jurisdiction, so soon as the weather would permit. The reason for such painful severity was stated by Winthrop; as to her and some of her prominent supporters, "the General Court finding, upon consultation, that two so opposite parties could not contain (continue) in the same body, without apparent hazard of ruin to the whole, agreed to send away some of the principal."

This was the persuasion of Peters, however it crossed his strong and habitual benevolence. Of his own parishioners, several were among the remonstrants in favor of Wheelwright, who were all disarmed, lest they might re-enact the scenes of violence, committed by the Anabaptists in Germany.

As a trust of prime importance to the literary and religious interests of an infant colony, Peters is elected a member of the Overseers of the College.

At the same session, he enjoyed the high satisfaction of knowing, that the Legislature granted to Joan Ames, the worthy relict of his colleague in Rotterdam, Dr. Ames, £40. Thus generously dealing, they mention her deceased husband, as "of famous memory." She, having come over with her children and his valuable library, had been granted land at Salem, and received as a member of the church there. Such beneficence was most probably manifested through the kind regard and exertion of Peters, who was the sincere friend of Ames and his family. His attachments were far from being the mere "shade, that follows wealth and fame," and leaves the afflicted without consolation.

1638. About this time, he visits the portion of his flock at Enon, afterwards Wenham. He favors them and their neighbors with one of his pithy and pertinent discourses. The spot, then selected for his stand, was the top of a beautiful hill, near what was recently the stage road and the margin of the spacious pond. His text, according to his frequent custom, is strikingly suited to the localities of the situation. It is, "In Enon, near to Salim, because there was much water there." The eminence, so used as a natural pulpit, still bears the surname of this distinguished divine. Like most mementoes of human actions, it is gradually diminished before the inroads of inventive convenience. What strange occurrences time brings to pass! Near the very place, where Peters made his dying speech on the scaffold, there may be now seen, in the proper season, advertisements of "Wenham Lake–Ice for sale."

Among the several conferences, between Peters, his Elder, and other brethren, and the followers of Williams, who separated from the Salem Church, was one with Francis Weston. This person, who intelligently and ingeniously sustained his cause, presented the subsequent complaints. That he was not tolerated in asking questions in time of public worship, on the Lord's day, without the imputation of pride and self-sufficiency. That the Church communed with Mr. Lathrop's Church, who did the same in relation to the Church of England, and, therefore, the first of these bodies was alike chargeable with the second of them. That Peters had publicly remarked, with respect to the separatists, that it was "better to part, than to live contentiously." He replied, that it was true, but he meant that such an act should be "in a way of Christ." That the wife (1) of Peters and others, who

(1) There was an Anne Peters, who took up her relation from the Salem Church and united with the Boston Church about 1631.

came from Rotterdam after he did, had been received as members of his church at Salem, though by an unintentional omission, they brought no letters of recommendation. However he had spoken in their behalf, and was the principal means of their acceptance, yet, to meet the wish of objectors, he agrees with the majority, to send thither for such testimonials. This controversy favors us with the fact, that his first wife emigrated hither to aid him in the great work, to which he had consecrated his time and energies. On these occasions he prominently exhibited a disposition of candor and kindness. He granted the accused a fair opportunity to vindicate themselves in truth and righteousness. With him, it was neither principle nor practice, that might was always right.

March 12. Again is Peters placed by the Government on a committee for compiling a code of laws.

April 12. With the other churches, his own solemnly keep a fast day for divine deliverance from the threatening evil of a General Governor for the Colonies, and the consequent dissolution of their charter privileges, and the loss of all their religious freedom, for which they had prayed, toiled, and suffered. This was emphatically a time of trial for him and the founders of the Commonwealth, who were in imminent peril of being brought under the power of the dominant party in England, from which they had fled. Sooner than give up their present liberties, they felt themselves sacredly bound to resist the forces, which they expected would be sent over to impose upon them, the dreaded yoke of hierarchy.

November 12. As an encouragement for the unwearied pains of Peters to advance theirs, as well as the country's best good, the proprietors, among whom he dwelt, grant him 230 acres of land, (1) in addition to 50 more at the head of Forest River the previous year, part of which bears his name to this day.

Dec. 6. He attends the execution of Dorothy Talby, one of his parish, in Boston. Under a false impression, that she had been commanded from heaven, to kill her husband, children and herself, she tried to fulfil it, but only succeeded to take the life of one among the children. He cautioned the spectators against the pernicious effects of compliance with imaginary revelations.

1639, May 22. As he was favorably known in Holland, the General Court request him to send thither, in their behalf, for of a supply of match (2) and saltpetre. They vote him 500 acres of land for his public services.

June 25. With respect to his domestic affairs, he had an Indian

(1) He had a lot, "over against the meeting house on the north side," in Salem. His agent sold a quarter of an acre of it for 40s. in 1652. It is likely, that his house stood on or near the spot so purchased. Peters, in his history of Connecticut, says, that his relative, Hugh, had the yard before such dwelling, paved with flint stones from England, and a well, surrounded with similar pavement, for the accommodation of all who wished for water there.

(2) This article was generally used with muskets, instead of flints.

servant, called Hope, (1) probably one of the Pequod captives. This person is brought to our notice in a way, unfavorable to his character. A Court record informs us, that, for intemperance and running away, he was sentenced to be whipped. The employment of such natives in families, was anciently common in New England.

July 1. By the vote of his church, and in accordance with regular usage, he notifies the Dorchester church, that Roger Williams and others, who had been members of the former, and had failed to make concessions, requisite for the continuance of such a relation, had been excommunicated. While deeply regretting the causes which terminated in the exclusion of those, who settled Providence, he could no longer omit such a custom and still harmonize with the ecclesiastical order of the Colony.

1640, Jan. 2. Before this date, Peters had been called to taste the bitterest sorrows in the death of his first wife, to whom he was strongly attached, and of whom he made honorable mention. She, like many a noble sister of humanity, made large sacrifices for the rich heritage, which we enjoy. Though for her and their dust,

> No "frail memorial, still erected nigh,
> Implores the passing tribute of a sigh,"

still it will awake and assume its spiritual forms, which will rejoice in the endless smile of approving Deity. He had recently married Mrs. Deliverance Sheffield, a member of the Boston Church, (2) who is now dismissed to the Salem Church. He was soon bereaved of the enjoyment in her society, which he had anticipated, by her being deprived of reason. He was called to endure so deep a calamity for twenty years, to the tragic close of his life.

March 18. He receives an intelligent and talented colleague in the person of Edward Norris, to share with him the responsibilities of the clerical calling.

Nov. He attends the formation of a Church at Lynn, composed of individuals who had emigrated thence and settled on Long Island On the same occasion, he takes part in the ordination of Abraham Pierson, as their guide in the spread of Gospel knowledge and influences.

1641, Feb. 2. As emigration to this country had much diminished, from the greater enjoyment of freedom in England, and shipping was needed to carry on the colonial trade, Peters, "a man of a very public spirit and singular activity for all occasions," as Winthrop observes, stirs up his people to have a ship built of 300 tons. The inhabitants of Boston were stimulated by this example, to do likewise, though their vessel was of less tonnage.

(1) An Indian of this name, a slave of Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, was sold by an agent to John Mainford, of Barbadoes, Jan. 12, 1648.

(2) She joined the Boston Church, March 10, 1639.

The friends of New England, who were in the mother country, sent over advice, that agents should be dispatched thither to notice the national movements, and embrace opportunities to obtain the favor of Parliament in behalf of the colonists. A prominent motive for such a proposal, was, that advocates here, experimentally acquainted with the Congregational polity, might help there to counteract the powerful influence of the Presbyterians. The Assistants, having consulted with several of the Elders, proposed Weld, of Roxbury, Hibbens, of Boston, and Peters, of Salem, for so important an embassy. The Governor, nearly all the magistrates, and some of the Elders wrote, and desired the society of the last town, to relinquish the services of their minister, designated for such a trust. Endicott, one of his principal parishioners, argued against the request, but Humphrey, another, took opposite ground. The answer of his people was, that the severance of his connection with them, even for a limited period, was a greater sacrifice, than they felt themselves bound to make. Winthrop relates, that the main cause of such a response, was their fear, lest Peters should be detained in England, or diverted to the West Indies, whither Humphrey expected to go under the auspices of Lord Say and his associates.

April. For the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between the adherents of Hanserd Knolles, on the one part, and those of Thomas Larkham, on the other, both clergymen, at Piscataqua, Peters went thither in company with Simon Bradstreet and Rev. Timothy Dalton. They successfully performed their errand and experienced the blessedness of peace-makers. In attempting to visit Accomenticus, Peters and Dalton, with two others, lost their course and wandered two days and a night, destitute of food, in wet and snow. Thus imperiled, they were nigh perishing, but a kind Providence heard their cry, and gave them deliverance. Lechford states, that Peters "went a second time for appeasing the same difference and had a commission from the Governor under his hand and public seal to bring the case before the Court of Justices there, whose descision was adverse to Knolles and his supporters."

June 2. The Legislature renew their application for filling the number of their commissioners to London. Their address is, "The Court doth entreat leave of the Church of Salem for Mr. Peters to go for England." So pressed again on this subject, they denied their own wishes for the sake of the greater benefit of the Commonwealth, and very reluctantly gave up the teachings and society of their pastor.

July 27. About to comply with this pressing call, he empowers his worthy deacons, Gott and Horn, as follows: "If the Lord continue my life, then I hereby do authorize them to do all my affairs, as if myself were present, as in looking into my house, to dispose of my ground, mill, and other things, as in wisdom they shall see meet." Such a needful act of prudence, no doubt, brought over his spirit its usual associations of sadness, lest the

places, on which he had often looked, as familiar acquaintances, might soon cease forever to feel the pressure of his feet and to meet the greeting of his eyes.

Aug. 3. Having prepared for his voyage, depressed at the thought of separating from a beloved flock, but sustained with the promises of discharged obligation, Peters and his two colleagues depart, on their important embassy, by the way of Newfoundland. Their instructions are to congratulate Parliament on their success; to petition them for a repeal of impost, but not to receive privileges from them so as to commit the Colony, as an ally, in any event. This, of course, had reference to the doubtful issue of the contest, between the Royalists and the Reformers of government. The Agents were, also, desired to inform the creditors of our merchants, that a reason, why they had delayed to forward payment for goods, was the embarrassment of their trade.

Embarked on an enterprise of great uncertainty as well as responsibility, Peters had ground to expect, that, if spared to tread once more on the soil of his native land, the aspect of its civil and ecclesiastical concerns, would strike him very differently from what it was when he last bade it farewell. Prior to his leaving New England, he had learned that Parliament were "set upon a general reformation of Church and State;" that Bishop Laud and the chief supporters of his policy, were imprisoned, and, that, however the Presbyterians, especially the Covenanters of Scotland, held great sway, and were strenuous for adopting their form of religion, as the national standard, yet there was hope for Independency and the opportunity for its advancement should be seasonably improved. Hence the cause, on which his heart was set, and for which he had made many sacrifices of personal promotion, convenience, and comfort, had assumed an encouraging appearance and urged him onward to the kingdom, where exertions for its ascendancy could be most hopefully made.

Having reached Newfoundland, he and his colleagues were disappointed in not securing a passage so soon as they anticipated. But Weld and himself did not suffer the days of their detention, to pass away without useful employment. "They preached to the seamen of the Island, who were much affected with the word taught, and entertained them with all courtesy." They wisely believed, that beneficence done to fellow beings in obscurity, would stand as fair for them in their final account, as though it had been performed in the grandest metropolis of earth. The question with the Great I Am, is not *where* his will is obeyed, but *how*.

Oct. 10. After the news that Peters and his associates were thus on the way to their father-land, a commission (1) is made out for him personally. It was signed by Haynes and Winthrop,

(1) If this document reached Peters amid the troublous scenes of England, it came to his hands, as from the Colony of Connecticut, and not from the distinct company of Hartford, who had purchased lands for their particular use, where the Dutch had claims and a trading establishment near the same town, a chief cause of the difficulties

the former Governor of Connecticut, and the latter, sustaining a like office in Massachusetts. Its object was described, as follows: "Whereas the bearer, Mr. Hugh Peters, minister of Salem, is sent at the public request to England, to negotiate with the present Parliament there about such matters as concern us, which we confide to his care and fidelity, this is to authorize him, if occasion permit him to go to the Netherlands, to treat with the West India Company there, concerning a peaceable neighborhood between us and those of New Netherlands, and whatever he shall further think proper touching the West Indies." Then several propositions were subjoined, which contain fair offers for the territory on Connecticut River, held and claimed by the Dutch authorities of New Netherlands, and a continual source of perilous controversy between them and the English in that vicinity. A reason why Winthrop took part in the matter, was, that Massachusetts exercised jurisdiction over some of the land, conquered from the Pequods, and in the quarter liable to aggressions from the Dutch of Manhattan. The intrusting of so important a negotiation to Peters, was a compliment to his integrity and intelligence, as well as to his love for New England.

1642. Having reached London, the location of his former and abundant popularity and usefulness, and, also, of persecution for non-conformity, Peters attended to the calls of his mission so far, as circumstances allowed. Subsequently reverting to this period of his eventful life, he thus expressed himself. I continued in Massachusetts, "till sent hither by the Plantation to mediate ease in customs and excise, the country being poor, and a tender plant of their own setting;" and to obtain "some supplies for learning, etc., because I had been witness to the Indians, receiving the Gospel there, in faith and practice. I had nothing to support me, but the Parliament's promise. Not being able, in a short time, to compass my errand, I studied with a constant purpose of returning. I found the nation embroiled in troubles and war; the preaching was, Curse ye Meroz, from Scotland to England; the best ministers going into the field, in which, without urging, I was embarked in time." On his trial, he was represented by one of the witnesses, as having told him, that the main object of his re-visiting England, was to advance the revolution and reformation. This statement was probably an inference from the conversation, on which it was predicated. True, it was in accordance with the principles and wishes of himself, as well as of the authorities, who sent him over. Both he and they knew, that if the struggle for the permanent correction of the national government, as it had lately been, should fail, the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of the Puritan Colonies, would be destroyed. Hence, it was not strange, that he and they, while regarding their own

which existed. Not making such a distinction, O'Calleghan in his valuable history of New Netherlands, which contains the Commission, p. 235, says, that Winthrop v. 2., p. 32, errs in asserting, that Peters did not receive a Commission from Hartford, when in fact, he was correct. The same is true as to the criticism on Hubbard.

cause as just, should desire and act, as opportunity presented for the defeat of its avowed and hostile antagonist. The Independents, with whom he became connected, were soon convinced, that, having drawn the sword against Royalty, it would be consistent for them to throw away the scabbard. Still, when he embarked for the metropolis of his native land, all was uncertain as to the issue of the contest, and it is likely, that the most he and the Colonial Rulers expected, was a greater restraint to the power of the Crown and the security of larger freedom to its subjects. To this extent, he was probably disposed to be understood, when speaking of the silent intention of his embassy, in connection with its expressed instructions. Such an acknowledgement was treason in the view of the Cavaliers, but patriotism in that of the Roundheads.

August. Some fruits of the industrious and benevolent activity of Peters and his associates, reach Boston. They were a needed supply of linen, woollen, and other goods, to the amount of £500, which were contributed by friends to this country. Through the endeavors of such Agents, Richard Andrews, of London, renewed his generous intercourse with our fathers, by presenting to them a claim of his for £500, for the use of their poor, on the Company of Plymouth. Near this time, they also obtained £150 from Lady Moulson and other donations from the liberally inclined, for the benefit of the College.

September. Letters had been received from Puritan members of both houses of Parliament, for Cotton, Davenport, and Hooker to visit England and attend the Synod, appointed there, to consider and advise about Church Government. The aid of these Divines was particularly desired and needed, because they had practical acquaintance with religious Independency, which was comparatively at a low ebb there, while Presbyterianism continued at full flood. While the subject of ecclesiastical polity was generally regarded by the Kingdom as of great importance, seeing that Hierarchy had been suppressed, a communication came from Peters and Weld, advising, that the visit of such ministers be suspended, because a rupture had taken place between the King and Parliament. They were hearkened to and thus for this and other reasons, they had not these valuable assistants to help them contend for their Platform of Congregational Order, in Westminster Assembly.

Hibbens who had taken leave of Peters and Weld, arrived at Boston, and in compliance with the custom, publicly related before the Church the events of his agency.

Referring to an audience with his Majesty, near this date, Peters observed, "I had access to the King about my New England business. He used me civilly."

In the latter part of the current year, Peters had an invitation to visit Ireland, then in rebellion, as a chaplain in the Parlimentary service for the defence of the Kingdom and of the Protestant religion. Preparations for such an expedition, according to Rushworth, were making in London on the 3d of November. In

a relation of the occurrence to his daughter, Peters remarks, "Most of your London, godly ministers, being engaged in person, purse, and preaching in the trouble. I had the pay of a preacher." As an addition to this, his last publication has the passage, "My first work was, with the first, to go for Ireland, which I did with many hazards; then I was at sea, with my old patron, the Earl of Warwick, to whom I owed my life." Employed amid scenes of peril and misery, which ever accompany civil war, his heart often ached and his wish was to afford relief to the distressed.

1643, Jan 30. An ordinance is issued by Parliament for "loans and contributions for Ireland, as well from the United Provinces, as from England and Wales." The document begins, "Whereas the gasping condition of the Protestants in Ireland is too much manifest, their estates devoured, their lives daily sacrificed, not only to the malice of their and our bloody enemies, the Popish Rebels, but, also, to the more unavoidable executioners, starving, cold, and hunger, their sorrows hardly to be equalled, nor their utter destruction possible to be prevented, but by the great and undeserved mercy of God, upon some speedy supply of their grevious necessities." With such an appeal before him, whose sad realities he had seen with his own eyes, followed with an application for his labor to give it effect, Peters needed no solicitation. His generous impulses far outstript his swiftest facilities of travel. He hastened to Holland, the sphere of his former usefulness and respectability, to obtain help for multitudes of such sufferers. Through his eloquence and activity, he collected nearly £30,000. With so noble a contribution from the friends of the Reformation, he went back to the field of his toils, and assisted in distributing it among the needy, for whom he so magnanimously acted the part of a good Samaritan. After this distinguished compliance with the calls of philanthropy and religion, he returned to England.

O'Callaghan relates, from credible authorities, that, while Peters was on such a mission of charity, his preaching, in several cities of Holland, was unfavorable to the cause of Charles I., and that, in Amsterdam, he charged him with encouraging the Irish Romanists in rebellion, against the Parliament, and in their consequent cruelties upon their Protestant countrymen. He further states, that such a representation so deeply affected his audiences, "crowds of women gave their wedding rings" to relieve the many thus distressed. Boswell, the English embassador, being then in the Netherlands, complained of speeches, so made by Peters, to the Government, who showed far more favor to the Republican preacher, than to the loyal statesman.

March 10. As a prominent object of Peters mission to London, the Parliament release New England from all duties on imports and exports to and from the mother country, which were for the home consumption of the colonists. Such compliance with his wish, for the benefit of his friends here, must have yielded him "the heart-felt joy."

Brought to experience what he often had occasion to express, that there is no eminence of human origin, which temporal changes may not overthrow, Bishop Laud is imprisoned. He is thus confined on the charge of treason against the State.

1643, March 24. He notes in his diary; "One Mr. Foord told me, he is a Suffolk man, that there is a plot to send me and Bishop Wren to New England, within fourteen days.

April 25. It was moved in the House of Commons, to send me to New England, but it was rejected. The plot was laid by Peters, Wells and others." This endeavor of Peters to have the Primate banished, instead of being put to death, accords with his repeated declarations, that his wish and exertion were to spare the lives of the Royalists, who were in peril of public execution.

Concerning his relative position, as to his distinguished benefactors, Peters observes, "Upon my return, was staid again from home by the Earl of Warwick, my patron, then by the Earl of Essex; afterwards by the Parliament." Thus he failed of revisiting his American residence, for which he had strong desires, true affection and kind wishes. Had he known the end of such delay, his ardent aspiration would have been, — "The ill, I ask, deny."

About this season of the year, "Church Government and Church Covenant," being a reply of our Elders to 32 questions sent over to them by ministers of England in 1640, is printed there and recommended by Peters. In his prefatory remarks, he refers to the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom. "I do conceive, that this sword will not be sheathed, which is now drawn, till church-work be better known. Presbytery and Independency are the ways of worship and church fellowship, now looked at, since we hope, Episcopacy is coffined out and will be buried without expectation of another resurrection. We need not tell the wise, whence tyranny grew in Churches, and how Commonwealths got their pressure in the like kind. These be our sighs and hearty wishes, that self may be conquered in this poor nation, which shuts the door against these truths. Commonly, questions and answers clear up the way, when other treatises leave us to darkness." This acquiescence in the downfall of Hierarchy, as here expressed, was vividly recollected against him when it came to be revived. The production he so aided to circulate, and others, from the able pens of our Elders, were eagerly sought by advocates of Congregationalism, as the fruits of experience and efficient auxiliaries to advance the cause of freedom in Church and State, and, also, much feared and contradicted by their opponents, as powerful hindrances to the success of their plans for the dominancy.

July 5. While in the metropolis, Peters found various channels for the flow of his expansive benevolence. Having attended on Mr. Chaloner, under sentence for being implicated in the Waller,

plot, with the precepts and consolations of the gospel, he now continues similar ministrations towards him, at the place of execution. Peters inquires of the prisoner, conscious of the solemnities which surrounded and of the momentous realities which awaited him, if he had any thing more to explain concerning the plot. He replies, "It came from Mr. Waller under this notion, that, if we could make a third party here in London, to stand betwixt, to unite the King and Parliament, it would be a very acceptable work, for now the three kingdoms lay a bleeding, and unless that were done, there were no hopes to reunite them." After several other observations, Peters offers prayer with him, whose last words are, "I commend my soul into the hands of my God."

Sept. 25. Weld, the colleague of Peters, pens in London, the following paragraph with his consent, then absent from that city: "The present condition of this kingdom, yt is now vpon the verticall point, together with ye incredible importunities of very many godly persons, great and smale, (who hapely conceive we by our presence doe more good here, then we ourselves dare imagine yt we doe) haue made vs, after many various thoughts, much agitation and consultation with God and men, vnwillingly willing, to venter ourselves vpon God's Providence here and be content to tarry one six moneths longer from you and our churches most desired presence, with whom our hearts are, without the least wavering, fixed. Things cannot long stand at this passe here, as now, but will speedily be better or worse. If better, we shall not repent vs to have bene spectators and furtherers of our deare Countries good, and to be happy messengers of ye good newes thereof vnto you. If worse, we are like to bring thousands with vs to you." They desire, that the communication, containing this extract, may be read to their respective churches. The passage, so quoted, indicates, that, amid events, soon to be succeeded with great results to the nation, the influence of these two divines was highly appreciated and strongly desired in continuance, by numerous friends of reform. It, also, shows, that while they longed to renew their pastoral cares and labors in their adopted country, they denied this wish, that they might assist, to the utmost of their power, in promoting what they conscientiously believed to be the highest welfare of their native land.

Dec. 10. A letter is addressed by Winthrop, "To his Reverend and very Godly Brother, Mr. Hugh Peters," in London. It refers to Parker's manuscript and others from this country, on Presbyterianism. Its words are, "Our late Assembly of about forty Elders met, wherein the way of our churches was approved, and the Presbytery disallowed." This information was as a sharp arrow from the quiver of Peters, in his continual combat with the superior power of the party, who favored the speculations of Parker.

1644, Jan. 4. Brought to the scaffold for political offences, Sir

John Hotham forgives all concerned in his trial, and thanks Peters for reminding him so to do. The latter as his spiritual adviser, speaks in his behalf, and, in his name, desires the spectators would notice in him, soon to die, "The vanity of all things here below, as wit, parts, prowess, strength, friends and honour." After this, Peters having prayed, and then Sir John, they sing the 38th Psalm. The latter spends a quarter of an hour behind the block, in private supplication, and then gives his neck to the axe, which severs it at a single blow. Clarendon's relation of this mournful scene, is incorrect, and his epithet of "ungodly confessor," as applied to Peters, is of the same description.

March 12. In a speech of Bishop Laud, at the beginning of his trial, he says, after narrating the individuals, whom he had been the means of turning from Romanism, "Let any clergyman of England come forth and give a better account of his zeal to the Church." Peters, who stood near him, replied, that, however he was an humble individual among many hundreds of ministers in the kingdom, he had been instrumental, through divine aid, of bringing not only twenty-two from Papistry, but one hundred and twenty, who "witnessed a good profession," as true Protestants and sincere Christians. He added, that others as well as himself, were able to produce hundreds of real converts to Christ, for each whom the Prelate could. This answer gave great offence to the latter. There is no wonder, that it did, with his impressions of privilege and deference, which he had properly received, as the Primate of England. Especially so must it have been, as the reply came from the mouth of one, who had fled beyond the reach of his power, and returned as the representative of a Colony, whose authorities, above those of all others, had resisted his commands and prevented the enforcement of his plans for the suppression of all non-conformity on their shores. Still, he had thrown down the glove, and it was manfully taken up. Of the result, he had no real cause to complain.

April 12. Baille writes to Spang. He complains, that the Independents so thwarted the Presbyterians in the Assembly, as to prevent their bringing matters to a close, in accordance with their wish. He particularly singles out Peters, as one of their principal troublers.

June. Being among the Chaplains for the forces against those of the Royalists, Peters reaches London. He, as Whitelock narrates, "gave a large relation to the Commons of all the business of Lyme, where he was with the Earl of Warwick, and that, after the siege was raised, the enemy set fire on divers gallant houses about Studeome, Frampton, and other places." This nobleman, who showed particular regard for Peters, soon resigned his military commission, in consequence of the "self-denying ordinance," adopted by Parliament, which excluded members of both Houses, from being officers in the army.

1645, Jan. Bishop Laud having been condemned on the charge of attempting to subvert the essental laws of the kingdom,

is visited by Peters, who, long before, as a prosecuted non-conformist, had been to his Palace. At the request of the visiter, a motion had been offered in the Commons, as previously stated, to release and send him to America. While the instinctive compassion of Peters for the afflicted forbids the suspicion, that he intended, by this proposal, to mock the fallen Prelate, still the friends of the latter readily endorsed such a representation. They quoted the words of the Bishop, "The plot was laid by Peters and others of that crew, that they might insult over me." The very spirit, exhibited on the face of this passage, gives the impression to every candid beholder, that what was meant in comparative kindness, on one hand, was viewed as the offspring of malevolence on the other.

In the account, given by Wood, of graduates from Oxford, we have an extract, which is a sample of the severe style, used by royalists towards republicans, and which should be taken with many grains of charitable allowance. Speaking of the three lost books of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, deposited by order of Archbishop Abbot, in the Library at Lambeth, Wood indulges in the subsequent strain. They remained there, "till the decollation of Archbishop Laud; were then, by the Brethren of the predominant faction given with the library, to that most notorious villain Hugh Peters, as a reward for his remarkable service in those sad times of the Churches' confusion. And though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet there wanted not other endeavors to corrupt and make them speak that language, for which the Faction then fought, which was *to subject the Sovereign power to the People.* From the said copy, several transcripts were taken, not only I presume, while it remained in the said Library, but while it continued in the hands of Peters, differing much in words." The epithets of disparagement, here poured out, are evidently the expressions of prejudice against all of political principles opposite to those of the writer. Though the author of them could see no good come out of the Nazareth of revolution, under any circumstances, still much of real merit was possessed by the founders of the English Commonwealth. The villany and foulness attributed to Peters, were images of suspicion, but of no real entity. The intimation, thrown out by the same author, that this object of his displeasure may have been accessary to the giving of incorrect copies of the Polity, for the sake of party purposes, is so vague, it deserves scarcely an attempt at refutation. Baxter, of better information and greater candor, in this matter, explicitly states, that the work had undergone no such alteration.

Different representations have been given as to the number and value of the Primate's library, granted by Parliament to Peters. The latter estimated the worth of its volumes at £140, much less than generally conjectured. He intended to transport them for Massachusetts, most likely as a donation for the College. Brook quotes the language of Laud, relative to this subject. "All my books at Lambeth, were, by order of the House of Commons,

taken away and carried I know not whither; but are, as it is commonly said, for the use of Peters. Before this time, some good number of my books were delivered to the use of the Synod," or Westminster Assembly. The vicissitudes, to which these volumes and their owners were subjected, are emblems of the mutations, to which all temporal greatness is exposed, and an admonition, that nothing earthly is sure in its promise of good, but right motive and life, which forever yield a rich revenue of "the soul's calm sunshine."

April 2. In the exercise of his clerical duties, Peters delivers a sermon before Parliament, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and the Assembly. It is from Judges, 3 c. 31 vs. Its subject is, "God's doings and man's duty." Its occasion is the success of the Parliamentary arms in the West. It is replete with original, sound and salutary thoughts. Though it exhibits its author, as the decided advocate of rational liberty, yet it affords no proof of his rudely trampling on the opponents of his cause. In the introductory remarks, he states, that he had derived great satisfaction from his chaplaincy in the army, under Sir Thomas Fairfax. In his dedication to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, he intimates, that the tide of slander, afterwards overwhelming him, had already begun its course. His words are, "How I have been represented to you and others by printing or otherwise, shall not fill up this paper." Near the close of the discourse, he observes, "I know no publick person, but ought to carry a spare handkerchief to wipe off dirt; yet certainly blasting men's names in print, is not the way to clear a cause in dispute. Let us look to our duty, and the Lord will care for our reproaches." Men, however worthy, who are eminently active in seasons of political or religious excitement, are, too often, made a mark for detraction. It is a debasing frailty of our nature, in such collisions, not to spare where equity requires, but to prostrate by every possible method.

June 4. Cromwell writes to the government from Huntingdon, where Peters, his faithful friend, was with him.

6. The "Occurrences of Parliament," contain the ensuing passage, "Whereas, the last week, a petition was presented to the House by the Common Council in the name of the City, the day before many came to Guild Hall, to that end, and their spirits being much moved by the loss of Lester, Master Peters was intreated to speak something to quiet them, which he did to this purpose, viz: beseeching them to let go all differences about religion, and as Romans and Londoners, to attend the public safety of the city and kingdom, which was cheerfully assented to, and all men's spirits quieted, for which good service of his, amongst others of no small consequence, it is hoped, that all good men will be thankful to him, who hath not spared himself to the utmost, upon his own charge, to serve his native country." The compliment here paid to the patriotism of its subject, was no flattery to his pride, but the genuine expression of regard for his real desert.

It was no less his due, because, at the downfall of the Commonwealth, it was converted into reproach. The contrast was produced, not by the extinguishment of his kind affections or the loss of his probity, but by the fickleness of popular applause. The notes of this, too often, are, in accordance with the diversified phases of a man's life, — crown him, — or away with him.

24. Tidings, relative to the storming of Bridgewater, which submitted the 22d, reach the metropolis; "That the Lord's day before, Mr. Peters and Mr. Boles, in their sermons, encouraged the soldiers to the work. About 7 at night, the foot being drawn out, and those, that commanded the storm and forlorn, Mr. Peters, in the field, gave them an exhortation to do their duties."

26. Having brought letters from Sir Thomas Fairfax, he "was called into the House, and made a large relation of the particular passages in the taking of Bridgewater. He also produced several commissions in characters, which the House referred to a Committee to be decyphered, and gave £100 to Mr. Peters, for his unwearied services."

Aug. About this time, in compliance with his former application to Parliament, they pass an ordinance, enlarging that of 1643, which allowed all exports to New England to be free from duties without the previous restriction. Massachusetts, as an expression of their gratitude for such favor, repeal, in October, their rule of the previous May session, for 6d. a ton on foreign vessels, with reference to such as bore the Parliament's flag. Thus it was, that Peters was vigilant to embrace opportunities for the prosperity of our ancestors, to strengthen their ties of attachment to the Republican party in their native land, and bring the influences of their practical freedom to bear efficiently on the political character of the battling kingdom.

Sept. 9. Still engaged, like others of the most worthy clergymen, as a chaplain of the Parliamentary forces, Peters is again brought to our notice in the Memorials of Whitlock. He "was called into the House, and gave them a particular account of the siege of Bristol, and the cause of sitting down before it to prevent the plunder and cruelties of Prince Rupert in that country, and he pressed the desire of Sir Thomas Fairfax to have recruits sent him."

Oct. 4. In accordance with the request of Peters and Weld, the authorities of Massachusetts appoint other commissioners to supply their place in England. As the sequel shows, they both felt themselves called to continue there, and exert themselves, as opportunity should afford, for the advancement of the Revolution. The conclusion was perilous, and the cost to each was widely different.

7. Again invited to appear before the Commons, Peters "made a particular relation of the taking of Winchester Castle." He, also, brought them a narrative of this occurrence from the hand of Cromwell. He is voted £50 by them, as a token of their regard for his services. 14. He is the bearer of dispatches to this Body from

the same commander, that Basingstoke had been taken by storm. Being desired, as Carlyle informs us, to give particulars of the event, he complies. He mentions his application to the Marquis of Winchester, to give up before so forcible an attack commenced, who replied, "that if the King had no more ground in England, but Basing House, he would adventure as he did, and so maintain it to the uttermost, meaning with these Papists, comforting himself in his disaster, that Basing House was called Loyalty. But he was soon silenced in the question concerning the King and Parliament; and could only hope, that the king might have a day again. And thus the Lord was pleased to show us what mortal seed all earthly glory grows upon." Thus while Peters gives free utterance to his hearty engagedness for freedom, he brings before us the resolute Marquis, who as honestly determines to venture all for his royal master. Though alike in the fixedness of their purpose, they were wide asunder in the ends of their zealous action. The narrator proceeds. "This is now the twentieth garrison, that hath been taken in this summer, by this army; and I believe the most of them the answers of the prayers and trophies of the faith of some of God's servants. The commander of this Brigade, Lt. General Cromwell, had spent much time with God in prayer the night before the storm, and seldom fights without some text of Scripture to support him. This time he rested upon that blessed Word of God, written in the 115 Ps. 8 vs.: "They that make them, are like unto them, so is every one that trusteth in them." Here is a graphic portraiture of the strong religious sentiment, which swayed the officers as well as soldiers of the Parliamentary forces, and prompted them to deeds of chivalrous daring. However such an influence has been represented as carried to an excess, and ridiculed by the Cavaliers as cant and hypocrisy, it operated as an almost irresistible power against the success of their arms. After describing it, Peters presents "to the House, the Marquis's own colours, which he brought from Basing. The motto of which was, Donec pax redeat terris; the very same as King Charles gave upon his coronation money, when he came to the Crown." Thus closes the narrative, which, in point of particularity, is likely to have resembled others of the kind, given before the Commons by Peters, then on the dizzy heights of popularity, liable to be shaken and prostrated by a single blow.

While in London at this time, Peters has ample scope for his eloquence. As Edwards informs us, among the topics, against which he aims the shafts of his wit, is Presbyterianism. A desperate struggle is being made by those of this denomination, to sustain his Majesty, so that they may secure an ascendancy in the nation, and, by such means, cripple and depress the Independents. By thus standing with others of like motives, in the breach, Peters is exposed to every missile, which the displeasure of opponents could command. Another of his favorite themes of discourse, at this period, is "a toleration of all sects," as most congenial with the spirit and success of a free government.

Dec. 2. After this date, Baille, a strong Presbyterian, addresses Rev. Mr. Roberts, as follows: "Yesterday, the Assembly's petition was frowned upon in both Houses; notwithstanding we purpose, God willing, on Thursday, to give in a remonstrance of a more full and high strain. I heard yesterday, that Mr. Lilburn has a petition for the Sectaries, subscribed with the hands of a great many thousands. If your city will countenance Mr. Peters' sermon on the day appointed, they do but go on as they have begun." The author of this passage thus speaks of the last individual, because he openly and ably advocated the order of the Congregationalists.

Prynne, in the out-pouring of his displeasure against this denomination, remarks, as to the document just named, "They lately conspired together to exhibit a petition to parliament, for present dissolving the Assembly, and sending them hence to country cures, to prevent the settling of any Church government; to which end, they met at the Windmill Tavern, where Lt. Col. John Lilburn sat in the chair, and Master Hugh Peters suggested the advice which was accordingly inserted in the petition; but the Common Councilmen, smelling out the design, when the petition came to their hands, most discreetly left out the request." The intention of Peters, in exerting himself for such a dissolution, was, that the Presbyterians might not carry their purpose, and so encumber the progress of national freedom. Though partially defeated at this time, his plan was finally adopted, when more fully understood, as most fitted to the promotion of Republican principles and policy.

1646, Jan. 23. Still occupied in the struggle for popular rights, Peters returns and makes to the House, "a narration of the storming and taking of Dartmouth, and of the valour, unity and affection of the army, and presents several letters, papers and crucifixes, and other popish things, taken in the town. The letters are referred to a Committee."

Feb. 28. News from the army certifies, that "Mr. Peters preached in the market place at Torrington, and convinced many of their errors in adhering to the King's party, and that he, with L. C. Berry, was sent to Plymouth, to treat with the Governor."

March 21. The Commons gladly hear Peters describe the proceeding of Sir Thomas Fairfax, "at the head of the army. He, also, relates to them, that Lord Hopton and many of his officers had gone to France;" that "Pendennis Castle was closely besieged, and that the General intended to return towards Exeter." In consideration of his deep devotion to their cause, and incessant efforts for its triumph, the parliament settle on Peters and his heirs, £100, "out of the Earl of Worcester's estate."

At this period of violent excitement and bitter invective among the different parties in England, the production of Prynne, "A Fresh Discovery of Blazing Stars, Fire-brands," etc., appears. He had found in the study of Bishop Laud, the subscription of conformity, signed by Peters, Aug. 17, 1627, endorsed by the Primate

himself, as well as similar documents from other divines, who stood strongly for Congregationalism. Without making any charitable allowance for their privilege to alter from what they deemed a wrong to a right position, he gives a loose rein to the expression of his prejudice. "Some of their own Independent Faction had other thoughts of her (the Established Church) and ministry, unlesse they dissembled before God and man, as they commonly do without blush or check, but very few years since; and among other, all our New England brethren at their first departure hence, the five Independent Apologists and Master Hugh Peter, Solicitor Generall of the Independent cause and party." Conscious that the stand he had taken and retained, however thus assailed, was essentially correct, Peters resolved to hold it, let the results to his person be what they might.

The Gangræna of Edwards, published this year, runs a tilt against the Congregationalists. Of its remarks is the following: "Mr. Peters hath frequently, in city and country, in many places, as at Chelmsford, in Essex, and at several churches in London, preached, that, if it were not for livings of two or three hundred pounds a year, there would be no difference between the Presbyterians and Independents." However it was thus imputed to Peters, as a fault, that he had advanced the belief, that, as a general fact, the clergy of his opponents were much more zealous for party lines, on account of large salaries, than they would be, if situated otherwise, still he was correct in the assumption, as experience has long proved, with regard to all denominations.

In his "Picture of Independents," John Vicars, one of their good natured antagonists, gives the subsequent anecdote. "This gentleman," Peters, "being my old acquaintance, came to me," at Westminster Hall, "O Master Vicars," says he, "certainly a great deal of repentance must lie on your soul." Why, Master Peters, says I, what have I done? O, says he, in sadding and grieving the hearts of God's saints, as you have in your book. Why, Sir, says I, pray tell what is amiss in it. Truly, Master Vicars, says he, it is naught all over, naught all over," and then quickly departed. Such an example of pleasantly giving and receiving rebuke, in ecclesiastical difference, is worthy of imitation.

June. The ensuing note from Peters, is characteristic of the kindness, with which his heart ever throbbed for the distressed. "To my worthy friend, Mr. Rushworth, Secretary to the General. Honored friend, I understand, that the Lady Harlaw (1) is out, and the Lady Aubigny. You may remember, that I had a promise for my Lady Newport, when you know my Lord Newport is here with you. I pray therefore, let me entreat you in favour of her enlargement."

July 23. The Town of Worcester having capitulated, its principal inhabitants receive passes of protection from the hands of Peters, on condition, that they do not bear arms against the Parliament.

(1) The Sloane MS., as transcribed by H. G. Somerby, Esq., calls this name Harford.

Aug. 5. Aware of his being "instant in season," and "out of season" to promote their cause, far more for the public welfare, than his private interest, Parliament settle upon him £200 annually, and, Oct. 5, £200 more. One or both of these sums may have been derived from part of Lord Craven's estate, forfeited for his loyalty and granted to Peters without his request, who referred to it in his Legacy, as a source of his principal trouble.

In his "Last Report of the English Wars," Peters answers seven questions. 1. "Why he was silent at the surrender of Oxford?" He replies, that the place was so near London, and the occurrence so generally known, there was no need of his giving it greater publicity. He adds, "You had nothing committed there by ours, that had not its rise from integrity and faithfulness to the State." 2. "What he observed at Worcester, it being the last town in the king's hand?" He speaks in high terms of the skill and bravery, exhibited there by Col. Whalley and other officers. He observes, "I preached at Worcester at our coming in and afterwards, did observe a door open to the Gospel. I am now satisfied with my many, many petitions, that I might live to see this day, this blessed day, and the last town of the enemies taken. I am thinking whether to go a few days more in this vale to admire what I have seen upon earth, and then die, that I may praise Him, as He would be praised, who hath founded mercies for his servants, and brought forth deliverance to miracle, through Jesus Christ." 3. "What were best to do with the army?" "The disbanding an army if trusty, ought not to be a work of haste. Never fewer complaints, nor many men of such quality, whose design is only to obey their masters, viz: the Parliament." 4. "If he had any expedient for the present difference?" To nullify such want of harmony, the clergy should become reconciled, and general charity exercised; Presbyterians and Independents should be friendly and seek for the greatest public benefit. "Coals blown get heat and strength; neglected, grow cold. I think we might do God more service in study and pulpits, than in waiting at great men's doors and working them up to their selfish interests." 5. "What his thoughts were in relation to foreign States? That forthwith we might have some choice agents sent, as two to Sweden, two to the Cantons, our good friends, two to the Netherlands, and so to other parts, as we see cause, and these accompanied with a manifest of God's gracious dealings with this State, letting them know we omitted this work in our misery, lest our friends might fear us for beggars, but now being upon an even foot with them, we let them know our condition, and how we are ready to own them against a common enemy." 6. "How these late mercies and conquests might be preserved and improved? By the same means the mercy is gained, it may be preserved," even the encouragement of good men. "Walk plainly in your counsels. God needs no man's lies to carry on his work. Let it be our care that after ages may not say we conquered ourselves into a new slavery. Justice will

exalt and maintain a nation. I wish they might be first sharers in it, that first adventured their estates and lives. A State may stand upon any frame of Government, if fastened together with justice, charity and industry, the only upholders of the flourishing neighbor-nation, the Netherlands." He proposed, that, for the promotion of morals and religion, as the chief source of a nation's prosperity, three or four missionaries might be employed in each County. He added, "How ripe have I found Herefordshire and Worcestershire for the Gospel and many other counties." 7. "Why his name appears in so many books not without blots and he never wipe them off?" "I have been thinking to answer six or seven pamphlets, that name me either enviously, or disgracefully, but yet remain doubting. The Lord rebuke Satan. This I must say, if either in doctrine or practice I have failed, the time is not yet wherein any brother in any way of God hath dealt with me." He referred to his friendly relations with Ames and Forbes in Holland. Speaking of his former church in Rotterdam, he remarked, "I thank the Lord it continues to this day." Alluding to his residence in Massachusetts, he said, "Nor did I lose all my seven years being in New England, amongst those faithful, learned, godly brethren, whose way of worship, if we profess, it will not be groundless when their writings are examined. But to those printed scribbles against me, I may provide shortly a more satisfactory answer, where I may plainly charge untrue and unworthy passages upon the authors. Now the good Lord, who hath led captivity captive for us, subdue us to himself and grant that, in these tossing, tumbling, foaming seas, we depart not from our principles of reason, honor, liberty, much less Religion, which is the prayer of Hugh Peters."

Oct. 26. While thus laying the precepts of his observation and experience before the public, as a means of promoting the national good, his wife had recently arrived at Boston from London, some better of her derangement. She soon paid a visit to his affectionate parishioners at Salem. Her affliction received his deep sympathy and bore heavily on his spirits.

In the course of this year, he united his exertions with those of the estimable Winslow and others, to parry off the thrusts, made by the non-freemen of this Colony, who had gone to London with their complaints, at the reputation of our Rulers, before the functionaries of Government.

1647, May 17. As a mark of continued attachment to his congregation here, he had given his share of a small barque to them, and they now receive profits from what it had made.

June 4. The King is taken from Holdenby House, by a volunteer force, under Cornet Joyce. Dr. Young testified, that Peters told him, that, when this took place, Parliament intended to secure Cromwell and himself, then in London; but being informed of their design, they both escaped; that, as they rode to Ware, they halted to consult about what should be done to his Majesty, and that they concluded he ought to be tried and beheaded.

Still the deponent put in the caution, that he was not certain whether he understood it was Peters or Cromwell, who gave such advice, but he rather thought it was the former. To this charge, Peters answered, "I speak in the presence of God, I profess I never had any near conversation with Cromwell, about such things."

1647, July 19. Whitlock relates, "Mr. Peters went to the King at Newmarket and had much discourse with him." He proposed to his Majesty, the abolition of Episcopacy as a means of reconciliation between him and Parliament. The offer was accepted, and a corresponding treaty was made. But the document was rendered nugatory by the Parliament's falling under the power of the army.

Sept. 18. These forces having quartered themselves in London, contrary to the wishes, exertions and influence of the Presbyterian party, Peters preaches before their officers in Putney Church. After the discourse was finished, "they met there and debated propositions towards the settlement of the bleeding country."

About this date, Peters publishes a pamphlet with the title, "A word for the Armie, and two words for the Kingdome. To cleare the one, and cure the other." He mentions the reasons, for which the military felt themselves called to exercise their power so that the royalists of Parliament should comply with what they considered reasonable terms. The chief was, that the said political party intended to disband the former instead of sending them to Ireland, where they had offered to go; because the first feared, that if the last conquered that country, they would return and give law to the kingdom. He enumerates the hindrances, which retarded the nation from advancing towards the great object of the Revolution, and the means which should be used to remove them. He closes as follows, "However I am confident God will carry on this work, which is his owne; and to that end I looke above all present agitations, knowing if wee enter into our chambers, and shut our doors for a little moment, the indignation shall be over past."

Having, in this production, disagreed with Nathaniel Ward's remarks in his "Religious Retreat to a Religious Army;" Peters received a spirited reply from this old acquaintance of his, in a pamphlet called, "A Word to Mr. Peters, and Two Words for the Parliament and the Kingdom."

The stand, taken by Peters on this occasion, though very offensive to the Royalists, helped forward the Republican cause, and consequently, to bring down on his head, the increased resentment of his opponents.

However these considered his course, others of equal intelligence and worth held the same ground with him. The observations of but one among the latter will be cited. Milton, in his reply to Salmasius, used the subsequent language: "Our army sure was in no fault, who being ordered by the Parliament to

come to town, obeyed and quelled the faction and uproar of the King's party, who sometimes threatened the House itself. For things were brought to that pass, that of necessity either we must be run down by them, or they by us." He then spoke of the denomination, among whom Peters was classed. "The Independents, as they are called, were the only men, that, from the first to last, kept to their point, and knew what use to make of their victory."

Dec. Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, dies in the custody of Government. Peters was active for the amelioration of his sorrows. The Marchioness, relict of the deceased, gave him a certificate, when prosecuted as a regicide. It was, "I do hereby testify, that in all the sufferings of my husband, Mr. Peters was my great friend." While relating this fact at his arraignment, he added, "I have here a seal (and then produced it) that the Earl of Norwich gave me to keep for his sake, for saving his life."

Sir John Denham, with letters from the Queen, gained access to his Majesty through the kindness of Peters.

Lilly remarks, that after conversing with General Fairfax, "we went to visit Mr. Peters, the minister, who lodged in the Castle (at Windsor) whom we found reading." Peters, looking at a new satirical pamphlet in his hand, said, "Lilly, thou art herein," to which he replied, "are not you there also?" "Yes, that I am, quoth he." While the production had epithets for Lilly, as an Astrologer, it called Peters, "Dr. Sybbald."

1648, June. At the beginning of this month, Peters went to Milford and hastened large ordnance forwarded from the ship Lion to the Leaguer, and they were used in the storming of Pembroke.

July. Dr. Young, the principal accuser of him on his trial, becomes acquainted with him at Milford, under the profession of being a strong opposer to the king. This was when Peters was actively engaged, so far as his health could permit, in procuring supplies for the Parliamentary forces in Ireland.

Sept. 7. He, with Messrs. Marshall and Caryl, is requested to perform religious service before the Commons, next day, being Fast.

Near this date, the Duke of Hamilton surrenders himself, as a prisoner, to Peters, and hands him his George. (1)

Dec. 6. While the forty-one members of Parliament, as Carlyle relates, who were of the Presbyterian party and desirous to continue the King on the throne, were detained in the Queen's Court, Peters visited them. They inquired of him by what law they were held in durance. His answer implied, that he knew of none unless the law of necessity.

7. He assists in the religious services of the day appointed by the House.

Dec. 20. He is desired to officiate before the Commons, the next Friday, in St. Margaret's Church.

(1) A figure of St. George on horseback, borne by Knights of the Garter.

During this month, he met frequently with Cromwell and a few others, in Windsor, where the army had their head quarters.

Lilly relates, that, in the Christmas Holidays, "Lord Gray of Grooby and Hugh Peters sent for me to Somerset House, with directions to bring them two of my Almanacks. I did so. Peters and he read January's Observations." The author had printed under this month, in such publications, "I beg and expect Justice." He observes, that one of the two others said, "We shall do justice." He adds, that he did not think then, that they referred to King Charles.

1649, Jan. 4. The Commons, having laid down the position, that "The people are the origin of all just power," and they themselves are representatives of the people, decide, that whatever act was passed by them, had the force of law, without the consent of the King and Peers. Then they adopt an order for the trial of the royal prisoner.

Immediately Peters accompanies the King to London, under the command of Colonel Harrison. He was afterwards accused of riding at St. James' before his Majesty's coach with six horses, "like a Bishop Almoner," in a triumphant manner. He answered, "The king commanded me to ride before him, that the Bishop of London might come to him."

13. "The King desired that Master Peters, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, and Mr. Dell may be sent to him about some resolves."

20. After a conference between his Majesty and Peters, the latter offered a petition to the House, that the former might have one of his chaplains to advise him on some questions of conscience. Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, was accordingly allowed to be with the King till his execution. Lingard speaks of the part acted by Peters, on this occasion, as honorable to his head and heart.

27. In a letter from Roger Williams, to John Winthrop, Jr., the next May, it is stated, that news had reached the former, that on the first of these two dates, "Mr. Peters preached after the fashion of England, the funeral sermon to the king after sentence," from Isaiah, 14 c. 18 vs. It appears from his trial, that he intended to preach from this text, at such a time, but did not. He, however, delivered a discourse the next day, from Psalm 149 : 6 7, 8, 9, vs. at St. James's Chapel. He officiated on the 21, from the same passage, at Whitehall. When arraigned, he was accused of remarks in such discourses, as justified the execution of his Majesty. Part of them, he denied. With regard to the rest of them, as the language of a decided and energetic republican, they, of course, must have been offensive to the ears of royalists. There can be little doubt, but that after his endeavors to effect a reconciliation between the King and Parliament, and it was plain, that if the former swayed his sceptre as he had done, the latter must yield up the power they had gained, and thus the great object of the revolution for greater liberty in Church and State, be lost, Peters

came to the unpleasant, but necessary conclusion, that it was better for his Majesty to lose his crown, than the Parliament to be subdued. Of course, when invited to speak before the national authorities on public affairs, he in the honest expression of his opinion, would lay down such propositions and so remark on them as to displease the favorers of the throne, and prepare their minds to entertain impressions against him and utter them to his disadvantage, when opportunity should offer. This has always been exhibited by strong opponents, when summoned to describe the words and actions of their antagonists, especially after bloody contentions for the mastery of a kingdom.

30. On this day, Charles Stuart, the King of England, is brought to the scaffold, erected in the street before Whitehall. Having addressed those near his person, in vindication of himself against the charge of treason and made a confession of his regret, that he consented to the death of Strafford, and expressed the forgiveness of his persecutors, Juxon reminded him that he had but one short stage more, though a trying one, to heaven. "I go," said Charles, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can arise." "You are exchanged," said the bishop, "from a temporal to an eternal crown, a good exchange!" The monarch laid his head on the block and it was immediately severed. Lamentable scene, and equally so, the imperfections of human nature, which were the cause of its being acted!

Among the numerous stories told of Peters, was one, that he cut off his majesty's head with his own hand. Barwick as referred to by Harris, remarks, that Peters "was, upon no slight grounds, accused to have been one of the King's murtherers, though it could not be sufficiently proved against him." In such a connexion, a satyrical piece of 1649, is adduced as confirmatory of the suspicion.

> "There's Peters, the Denyer (nay t' is said)
> He that (disguised) cut off his master's head."

But, by the only witness, whom Peters summoned at his trial, and who lived with him, at the royal execution, but afterwards was in the national service, he showed, that he was confined to his bed with sickness, the very hours before, at and after the tragic event. His solemn declaration was, "I do profess before angels and men, I did not stir out of my chamber that day." On this point, Lilly in his Memoirs states, that Robert Spavin, Secretary of Cromwell, declared to him, that the executioner was, Lt. Col. Joyce, and then repeats his words, "I was in the room when he fitted himself for the work, stood behind him when he did it; when done, went in again with him."

Feb. 17. Desirous to save the life of Hamilton, Earl of Cambridge, Peters gives testimony, that this nobleman was promised quarter, when he surrendered. March 8. A letter has the passage, "Yesterday, Mr. Peters' presenting Hamilton's petition, made many believe, that he would escape." This nobleman commanded the Scottish forces, who invaded England, to sustain the royal

cause, and was defeated at Preston. Though the compassionate effort of Peters did not prevail, the general expectation, that he would succeed, indicated the prevalent impression of his aversion to taking away the life of friends to the Crown, and the large share of influence, which he had with the national authorities. The eminent prisoner, for whom he so interceded, was executed the next day. As the dying expression of his obligation to Peters, he bid him adieu and embraced him.

Lord George Goring is condemned for waging war against the Parliament, but is soon reprieved through the application of Peters. In view of his repeated endeavors of this kind, he could truly say, as he did in one of his last publications, "For my carriage, I challenge all the King's party to speak, if I were uncivil; nay, many of them had my purse, hand, help every way, and are ready to witness it."

June 7. At a Thanksgiving, in commemoration of Cromwell's victory, to which the Lord Mayor of London invited the Council, the General and his officers, Peters is a guest. With his usual acrimony of style, when the advocates for free institutions were his theme, Clement Walker, in his Anarchia, describes the occasion, and asserts, that many of the partakers indulged themselves to intoxication. He particularly singles out Peters as the object of his deep-rooted prejudice. But the spirit of his whole strain carries proof on the face of it, that his vision was distorted, so that it discerned men as trees walking and led him to portray his political antagonists as he should not.

Aug. 16. The Diurnal contains a communication from Peters, at Milford Haven, to the Council of State. "Last night, when we came from sea, we agreed (after seeking God,) to wait upon his pleasure for the place, being persuaded it were better to fasten upon any part of Ireland, than to hazard our men aboard, or bring them ashoar to burden the poore country. Things look hopefully, if our corruptions hinder not. Oh! that self, that reigns every where. Be assured, all diligence is used for you by H. Peters."

Sept. 1. He sends the same Body an account, that their forces had arrived safely at Dublin. He relates that they had detained a Dutch man of war under suspicion of being bound to Ireland. He was employed in examination of her officers, particularly for his acquaintance with their language.

15. He addresses the Council from the same country, where he is with Cromwell. "Tredagh (Drogedah) is taken; 3552 of the enemy slain, and 64 of ours. We have also Trim and Dundalk, and are marching to Kilkenny. I came now from giving thanks in the great church." With regard to the expeditions to Ireland, they were considered by the Parliamentary army, as a sort of holy crusades against the Catholics, who, in zealously battling for the royal cause, had killed many of the Protestants and treated those of them, who fell into their hands, as heretics, deserving no mercy.

17. Whitlock informs us, that Peters, " at the beginning of the troubles " there, headed " a Brigade against the rebels, and came off with honour and victory, and the like was not expected from him." It may appear strange, under ordinary circumstances, and very different from those of that occasion, that Peters should so have united the military with the clerical cloth.

But the public opinion of those, with whom he was associated, applauded his course, as honorable and dutiful.

To this import, was a communication from the Protector to Col. Hacker, though written afterwards, Dec. 25, 1650. " Truly I think, he that prays and preaches best, will fight best. I bless God to see any in this army, able and willing to impart the knowledge they have, for the good of others. I expect it will be encouraged by all the chief officers in this army." Others of opposite principles, censured such a practice among the Independents, while they approved of it in those of their own party. The very historians, who reproached Peters for similar conduct, praised the Rev. Dr. Walker for defending Londonderry, against James II.; Williams, Archbishop of York, for doing the same as to Conway Castle, and Chillingworth, the celebrated divine, for bearing arms to sustain his Sovereign, and acting as engineer at the siege of Gloucester. It may be said, that these, so commingling clerical and military services, did it, because they thought themselves brought into extraordinary crises, and, therefore, they are to be praised rather than blamed. Peters believed that he was similarly situated, and his case requires a like allowance. The facts, so adduced, are not offered as a plea for the general expediency of preachers becoming soldiers, but to show, that, in accordance with consistency, if others are approved for doing, in no greater emergency, what Peters did, his reputation should not be sunk with a mill stone of prejudice, while theirs is exalted by the plaudits of favor.

Oct. 12. John Eliot addresses Peters. Some extracts follow: " The Lord hath greatly delighted to improve you, and eminently your talent is increased to ten talents, for our Lord and Master's honour and use; and doubt not but your crowne shall be answerable. You are indeed much envyed, evil spoken of, smitten with the tongue. No matter. Be not troubled at what men say, when they speake evill of you, seeing you cannot but see, yea, all may see it, God dealeth well by you, the Lord doth improve, accept, succeed you. I cannot wish you in New England so long as you are of such great use and service in the Old; not because I love you not, but because I love you and the cause of God, which you do *totis viribus* pursue and prosper in. I have a request unto you in behalfe of these poore Indians. We are about to make a Town, and bring them to a cohabitation and civility, for the accomplishment whereof we want a Magazine of all sorts of edge tools, and instruments of husbandry, for cloathing, etc. That successful and seasonable Magazine of Provisions, which you were a lively instrument to procure so seasonably at Bristoll, for the re-

liefe of the army at Pembroke, doth incourage and imbolden me to request this favour, that you would be pleased to use that wisdome and interest the Lord hath given you in the hearts of his people, to further this Magazine for the poore Indians." Eliot proceeds to advance ideas, like those in his Christian Commonwealth. "The only Magna Charta in the world, is the holy Scriptures. Oh! what an opportunity hath the Parliament now to bring in Christ to rule in England. If they do that, Christ will prosper and preserve them." This epistle from a far country, dear to his heart, must have been very welcome to Peters. It speaks of the calumny, uttered against him by political foes, with the disapprobation, which it deserved. It brings to light an instance of his beneficent enterprise, which, but for such development, like many others of a kindred sort, might have slumbered in oblivion. Its author, while uttering the expressions of his friendship and his opinions in favor of a Republic, as little thought, that the influence of restored Royalty would reach across the Atlantic and compel him to apologize, as Peters had, that his zeal for freedom, would prove the forfeiture of his life.

Returning from Ireland to Milford, Peters was taken dangerously ill. It was supposed, that he took his sickness from the commander of the ship, which brought him over, while praying at his side. He was so low, that it was difficult to have him moved on shore. Dr. Young, who became acquainted with him, the year previous, received him to his own house. He was instrumental in restoring him to health in a short time. He was a secret supporter of the crown, under the guise of a Parliament man. Thus he acted as a spy upon his confiding patient, who remained with him ten weeks. His own relation was, "I observed in him, that he had some secret thoughts, that I could not well discover, neither well understand; whereupon I thought it might tend to my security, that I should so much sympathize with him, to get within him to know his intentions." Capable of such duplicity, he was a chief witness against Peters, at his subsequent trial.

Among other items, told by him in reference to the latter, was, that he came over with power from Cromwell, to have companies of soldiers raised for service in Ireland. Brook quotes the story of Dr. Walker, who eagerly caught at exaggerated reports to the disadvantage of those, whose state policy came in collision with his own. Peters "having misspent his time and raised only three companies, Cromwell's wife drew up articles against him. Hearing of this, Peters contrived with Col. Philip Jones and Mr. Sampson Lort, to settle a Congregational Church of their own invention, hoping, by this means, to make it appear, that instead of being idle, he had been all the time, very well employed." The accusation here fails to be substantiated by its accompanying facts. Peters was at Milford but ten weeks, as already specified. Owing to his severe illness, he could not have been sufficiently strong to have complied with his instructions in less than two or three weeks. For the rest of the time, he exerted himself

so that three companies were engaged, prepared and sent to their appointed station. This, of itself, would have saved him, with all his activity, from the just charge of being dilatory. But, in addition, he and two friends, succeeded in collecting and establishing a church on their own platform. Surely, were the supposed fiction of Mrs. Cromwell's displeasure at Peters, because he wasted his time, a fact, she must have judged erroneously; could she have had experience in the performance of such labors, she would have been convinced, that commendation, and not blame, was his due.

1650, Feb. 7. A letter of the Cromwelliana, is addressed by Peters, from Milford, to one of his friends. He mentions, that "the Marquesse of Ormond hath had a treaty with the popish clergy," in Ireland, "and many overtures have passed between them, and at last all things are fully concluded between them." He states, that Cromwell is preparing to march against their forces. He adds, "Sir Lewis Dives (the great royalist, that broke away to save his head, when the Lords were to be tried,) is among the Popish Irish. I believe his being there is to see what is probable to be done by them for their king there. We are giving the ingagement. I pray God self-denial may appear among all hearts."

March 23. The Diurnal says, one writes from Milford to London, "I have enclosed two letters, sent Master Peters, which he was entreated; wherein there are from New England and elsewhere, very savoury propositions and seasonable for England and Ireland." One of these communications is signed R. S. A passage or two are cited. "Observing in a letter of yours, your pious desires to have help of ministers among the ignorant and superstitious Irish, I thought it not amisse, to impart some cogitations unto you. Ireland is conceived unhealthy in the generality, so that men dare not fix themselves without some triall. I conceive, that if some liberty were given to English ministers, to depute, for a while, some in their places in England, till they had experience how their bodies would agree with that climate, it might happily draw over some considerable men, that did affect the conversion of that nation." The writer advises, that favor be shown to the Irish, who speak English, and thus "spread our language unto the people and the sooner let in the Gospel."

25. Information is received in the metropolis, from "Milford Haven, that the country thereabout did unanimously take the Ingagement; that Mr. Peters opened the matter to them, and did much incourage them to take it."

April 27. He communicates at South Wales, with a distant friend. Among his related facts is, that a frigot which sailed yesterday from Milford for Ireland, is to bring Cromwell back to England if he prefer.

1651, April 17. The Missionary Corporation write from London to the Commissioners of the United Colonies. They observe in reference to the Mission, among the Indians: "It is strange to see what and how many objections arise against the work, some from the ill management of former gifts, bestowed on the country of

New England, of which no account hath been given to the donors, and some personally reflecting on Mr. Wells and Mr. Peters, some upon ourselves, as if we had so much per pound of what is collected, or might feast ourselves liberally therewith; whereas through mercy, we never eat or drank of the fruit or charge of it, and neither have had or expect a penny or pennyworth for all the pains we shall take therein. As for Mr. Peters and Mr. Wells, they have sufficiently satisfied us with what hath been formerly answered."

This year, Peters publishes his "Good Work for a good Magistrate, or a short cut to great quiet."

June 7. In the dedication of it, "To the Supreme Power, and all true Patriots under them," are the subsequent extracts. The contents of the production "are the scribblings of two friends divided by places, to satisfy each other about some practicable pieces of several kindes, especially looking at Religion, the Poor, Justice, Law, Navies, Merchandize, which are now the breeders of manie thoughts amongst Englishmen. And truly as hee is foolish, that would dare to prescribe to your wisdoms; so is hee unfaithful, that would keep a mite from your treasure. It is desired, that no man of anie profession would despise these small things, or the daie of them; but seriously attend them to enlargement and practice; for doubtless, an honest heart and a quick head will soon enliven all these. Your Honors know you are the Remainders of much winnowing. You know as your travels have been great and dangerous, so verie successful. This good we have alreadie under you, that men may bee as good as they can, but not so bad as they would. It is humbly conceived, Republicks sow the seed of their ruin in faction; which wise men saie cannot bee cured but by frequent elections, and cleer and plain dealings betwixt men in place, according to Mat. 18. And then who can saie a government of so manie praiers and tears should perish? when after ages shall read written on your doors, and practised by you and your successors,

> This hous hates sin, loves
> peace and vice corrects,
> Mainteins just Laws, and
> honest men protects."

After these suggestions, Peters addresses a friend of the initials, J. T. "You must excuse mee, if I join my thoughts with yours, and further give waie to opportunitie pressing the publishing our heartie short breathings after the good of the Commonwealth, rais'd and preserv'd even to miracle. Bee not discouraged to continue your contributions. I know wee now desire onley to laie this rough work before better heads and hands, and be assured this nation is not barren altogether of self denying spirits and ingenuous Patriots; and though Holland seem to get the start of us, yet wee may so follow, as to stand at length on their shoulders and so see further. Our present transactions make us look like

Martha, wee hope our great end will appear to be Marie's one thing necessarie."

In the prosecution of his design in the book, Peters lays down the following premises. "The waies and means ordained of God, to bring anie nation to and preserv them in as happie a condition as this world can afford, are by, I True Religion maintained and advanced by the magistrate, and walked in by the people; II True mercie towards the poor practised, and advanced both by Magistrates and People; III True Justice and Righteousness amongst both Magistrates and People, towards other Nations." Under the first proposition, he considers "how the Universities may bee made useful that waie, as beeing the foundation upon which the other is built." He would have "the monuments of Idolatrie (Romanism) viz. gowns, caps, matriculations, with manie ceremonies about Commencements," abolished, and "let scholars live as other men for apparel." He remarks, "The true regulating of these colleges will bee the returning them to the service of Christ indeed." To secure this, he proposed, that the education therein "bee Christian and noble," and "that the means bee adequate." He wished, that the funds, which he considered as well appropriated, may be applied to educate talented and pious young men for the ministry, who should form churches on the platform of Hooker and Cotton, in New England. In connection with this, he recommends that measures be taken for funds to support the widows of such clergymen. While speaking how the magistrate might do much good to the poor, Peters recommends savings banks, where the distressed might obtain a loan on the pledge of property; the abolition of imprisonment for poor debtors, and the abuses of prisons. He opposed the drinking of healths.

He was against attainders, and desirous that innocent children should not suffer for the guilt of their parents.

With regard to printing he wished to have it under wholesome regulation, and "that all Popish and offensive books, libels and loos pamphlets may bee suppressed."

He says, "for a Bodie of Laws, I know none but such as should bee the result of sound reason, nor do I know any such reason, but what the God of wisdom hath appointed. Therefore the Moral Law is doubtles the best, to which Moses's judicials added with Solomon's rules and experiments, will bee compleat."

He advised, when a proper code was formed, "to burn all the old records, yea, even those in the Tower, the monuments of tyrannie." Though antiquaries would hardly agree with him in this matter, still there was reason in his wish, that the past examples of oppressive laws might not continue, lest they might be an inducement for their re-adoption. The modesty with which he offered his thoughts and those of his friends in this small volume, should nullify the prejudice, which many indulged against him, as though he was very presumptuous for giving it to the public. There are many suggestions in it, which if hearkened to, would prove essentially beneficial to any government. They have much

resemblance to the regulations of the United Colonies in New England, so far as applicable to their condition, as recent settlements, who made the Scriptures the great standard of their civil as well as of their ecclesiastical legislation. The experience of Peters, as to the customs of our country, of Holland and of his native kingdom, well qualified him to increase the stock of information needed for the occasion. The mere fact that he was educated as a clergyman is no conclusive proof, as many have appeared to suppose, that he had no other knowledge but of theology, and was, therefore, unfit to proffer his ideas on any thing else. The human mind is so divinely constituted, that its proficiency in one branch of true science, does by no means contract, but rather enlarges its power to excel in another.

1652. Jan. 20. The Parliament appoint twenty-one persons to consider the abuses of the national laws and report accordingly. Peters is among them. His late publication had a bearing on the topic, and probably had much influence in bringing it forward. He remarked of such a trust, "When I was called about mending laws, I was rather there to pray." Some writers have set this down, as a confession of his utter disqualification to discharge the duties of such a commission. They little considered, that "distrustful sense with modest caution speaks," while unexperienced boldness abounds in self-plaudits. The fact is, that while the judicial and civil affairs of the kingdom called for lawyers and politicians, those of the church as strongly demanded such men as Peters. It is neither a correct nor safe position, that divines have no business with codes of government. However political influence may gain the preponderance, generally, in all legislation, to the proportionate exclusion of religious influence, still the Scriptures assure us, that a universal reformation will take place, when the world will be "of one heart" and "of one mind," in the belief, love and practice of Christianity. Of course, when this change, more important than that, which shall give rational freedom to all nations, shall be completed, there will be a radical alteration in the principles and forms of government. The laws and the administration of them will be based supremely on the Gospel, and a Paul will be a more popular speaker in legislative halls than a Chatham; the systems of Cotton, Eliot and Peters will appear more practical than fanatical, more useful than futile, more acceptable than contemptible.

April 20. In a letter to his agents in Salem, Peters thus expresses himself; "I wish you all good, and pray you to sell my mill, or what you will, that may be parted with." Occasional diversions of this kind, from the general bent of his thoughts, towards a spot, endeared to his affections by more than ordinary ties, were gleams of joy in his common experience.

This year, Henry Gardiner publishes remarks on New England, in London, against the annexation of Maine to Massachusetts. He says, Hugh Peters and others "made use of their times," and "subjugated all the Eastern parts."

Sept. 7. Nathaniel Briscoe writes from the same metropolis, to Thomas Broughton, his son-in-law, of Boston, "There is a book newly put out against Mr. Peters and another against the Judges, Lawyers and Courts, setting out their unjust dealings and proceedings with men." The communication, containing this and other passages, was so offensive to the Bay authorities, that they had a copy of it sent back to the Government of England.

1653. April 8. An act for the probate of wills and granting administrations, is passed. Peters is appointed one of the judges for carrying it into effect. Concerning this office, he modestly observed to his daughter, "When I was called to judge in wills, I only went sometimes to learn and help the poor."

In the early part of this year, the Dutch, having their navy almost destroyed by the fleet under Admiral Blake, send embassadors to London for a compromise of differences. To accomplish their object, such agents apply for assistance to Peters, noted and esteemed in their own country. They empower him to offer £300,000 for peace. His effort, cheerfully and immediately made in their behalf, was not then successful.

July 11. An intercepted letter of this date, for Holland, says, "Mr Peters prays and preaches for peace. Our last Thanksgiving day, he told them, that God Almighty had punished them long enough for their sins, especially for their pride, covetousness, ambition, discord, ingratitude and unmercifulness to the poor." Such reproofs fully indicate that the author of them was no time-server, even among his best friends.

Sept. 26. A correspondent writes from Holland to England, "Peters, who I believe is an honest man, doth correspond with Mrs. Grace Crisp,(1) concerning the State affairs, which letters are communicated to Mr. John Webster, a profest malignant; great mischief can be done to the Commonwealth." However this statement faults the abuse made of Peters' confidence, it assigns to him a virtue which was a prominent trait in his character.

Nov. 21. Jongestall, in a communication to Frederick, Count de Nassau, observes, "Mr. Peters hath written a letter to the Queen of Sweden, by Lord Whetlocke, wherein he relates the reasons why they put their King to death and dissolved this last Parliament, and withal sends her majesty a great English dog and a cheese, for a present." While it is pleasant to know, that the Queen's correspondent was in so high repute as to be allowed to send her such information, it would be more so, if we could be made acquainted with the facts thus transmitted to her.

Lilly relates, that, having printed some passages in his Anglicus, to which the Presbyterians took exceptions, he was arraigned, this year, through their influence, before the Commons. Speaking of friends, who appeared manfully in his favor, he notes, "Hugh Peters spoke much in my behalf to the Committee."

1654. Feb. 18. The Missionary Corporation in London date a letter for the Commissioners of the Confederate Colonies. In it

(1) Probably some relative of Tobias Crisp, D. D., who died in London, 1642.

Peters is particularized as one of a Committee to collect funds in the army, to help on the evangelization of the Indians, but as somewhat lukewarm in his feelings. Steele, the President and writer, adds, "We have otherwise charitable thoughts of Mr. Peters." From the declarations, expanded views and benevolence of the latter, he sincerely wished, that the natives here might be increasingly evangelized. Other causes, and not his disapprobation of the mission itself, must have damped his usual ardor and activity for such an enterprise. The fact is, that Eliot was dissatisfied, at this time, with the salary, which the Commissioners here, as agents of the Corporation, paid him, and he made it known to his friends in England. Such information produced an unfavorable effect on the collection of charities for a time. It was, most likely, a principal reason why Peters appeared so to Steele as he did, and why he thought it dutiful to proceed no faster than could be done in a just direction.

March 3. Peters indites a letter to Deacon Gott, of Wenham, but of his Church, when he left Salem. "Nothing but want of health could detain me from New England, such is my love to the place, and lovely it will yet be." He observes, that he has given his property at Salem, conditionally, to John Winthrop, of Connecticut. To the last worthy man, sometimes called his son, Peters mentions, April 30, such a donation, and that he had sent him a loadstone to keep, if he never returned to this country. He observes, "Nothing hath troubled me more, than that you had not my company with you." He closes, "My heart is with my God, and desire after him." Such communings were pleasant and mournful to his soul.

20. According to an act of Parliament, a Board are appointed to license candidates for the ministry. They are called Triers. Baxter says of them, "They did a great deal of good to the Church; saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers; and, in their stead, admitted of any able, serious preachers, who lived godly lives, though of different opinions." As one of such Commissioners, Peters said, "When I was a Tryer of others, I went to hear and gain experience rather than to judge." In this line, Brook cites Dr. Walker, as at his favorite diversion of endeavoring to blacken the reputation of the Revolutionists. The latter, after intimating that Peters was among the chief of the Triers, labored to make out a case of simony against him, from a humorous question, which he put to an applicant. "Mr. Champlin, a clergyman of Somersetshire," sent a person to Peters for a Rectory in Kingston of that County. The messenger having addressed him on the subject, Peters playfully asked, "Hath thy friend any money?" From so slender an evidence, prejudice conjured up a grave accusation, contradicted by the extraordinary and long-established honesty of the accused.

May 2. The United Provinces having suffered another naval defeat by the English, and renewed their application to Peters, as their solicitor of peace, he now succeeds in prevailing on

Cromwell to comply with their entreaty. In reference to this affair, Stubbs, in his account of the Dutch war, had an engraved representation of the embassadors handing their petition to Peters.

July 3. Anthony Saddler, who applies to the Triers for the continuance of his ministry, is not approved by them. He relates, "When they rose, I followed Mr. Nye, and asked him of the issue of my examination: he seemed to slight me, and went away without speaking any further to me. I went forthwith to Mr Peters and told him I was sorry, that I was not thought worthy of their approbation. He answered, that the Commissioners had not yet concluded any thing, and that it was upon suspense." Here we have a specimen of Peters' natural courtesy, which he ever exercised towards those, who, amid the trials of disappointment, came in contact with his official duties.

12. Roger Williams informs Winthrop of Connecticut, that he had visited Peters at his lodgings in Whitehall, which "I was told was Canterburies, and he himself told me, that the Library, wherein we were together, was Canterburies, and given him by the Parliament." He states, that Peters was grieved, that his insane wife had been excommunicated, which must have been from the Salem Church. Probably she conducted irrationally and was dealt with as though she had the full use of her reason. He proceeds, "His wife lives from him, not wholly, but much distracted. He tells me, he had had but £200 a year, & he allowed her £80 per annum of it. He told me, that his affliction from his wife, stirred him to action abroad, and when success tempted him to pride, the bitterness of his bosom comforts was a cooler and a bridle to him." Thus these two men of distinguished talents and learning, and much alike in their temperament, communed together in the spirit of Christian sympathy, though the one had been constrained by the calls of his office, to publish the excision of the other from his church.

Nov. 9. A letter from the Council of Massachusetts is addressed "to the Reverend and much honored Mr. Hugh Peters." They apologize for their long silence. They proceed, "Yet such is our confidence of your zeal for God, your real and cordial affection to the cause of God and the liberties and welfare of his people here, that we are encouraged, our necessities, at this time, also compelling us to make use of all our friends, amongst whom we cannot but rank yourself amongst the chief, and are confident you will not suffer us to be mistaken therein, but that, in due time, we shall see Amicus return." They then mention the controversy, which they had had with the other confederates about war with the Dutch of New Netherland. They continue, "Some few among ourselves and others of our Confederates, offended at our peace, address themselves to England, and, by what means, or upon what pretence, we know not, prevail with his Highness to send a fleet of ships under the command of Mr. Sedgwick to assist us against the Dutch." They relate, that, peace having been made between

Holland and England, the Fleet sailed against the French of Nova Scotia, took their territory and then applied to Massachusetts for forces to secure the conquest, but the authorities thereof declined unless the Commissioners showed their warrant for such a course. They subjoin, "least our action and answers should be misrepresented to his Highness, we thought it our duty briefly to present things as they are, relating to the French, as formerly we have done in reference to the Dutch. We earnestly entreat you would be pleased so far to tender the welfare of this place, the comfort and well being of the people of God here, his honour and cause, to the perpetual good of posterity as to your utmost interest with his Highness, or any other whom it may concern, as opportunity may present or occasion require, for the obtaining our just desires and establishing our rights and privileges to us and our posterity's forever, whereby you will do acceptable service to God and forever oblige your true and faithful friends and brethren."

Dec. 13. A large committee of ministers assemble at the request and in the presence of Cromwell. Peters is numbered with them. They meet to consider an application of Manasseh Ben Israel in behalf of the Jewish nation.

1656. April 22. Peters writes(1) to Lord Henry Cromwell in Dublin. "My dear Lord. You may please by these to understand, that I am neither civilly nor naturally dead, (as my good friend with you suggests) but most dangerous it is to bee so spiritually: From my own hand, you may have it, that the scandalls, sent over to you about myselfe, are false, and, to add more, will doe but little more good: I am still desired by some friends to see Ireland, and, if strength increase, I trust I shall not fayle so to doe, but have been long ill and lost very much blood, above 30 ounces: The Lord helpe. For other things, I must bee a suitor, that Col. Cooke's arreares now to bee layd in lands, may have yr remembrance in helping on their desire, which will bee very reasonable, that are concerned in it: I beseech yr Lordshipp tender me to preserve children, that are fatherless from want. As also my Lord Deputy gave Mr. Dixon his place, which he long enjoyed, and Sir John Temple keeping him out (as he complaynes) a word of yr Lordshipp would also ease that, and these are all my requests at present. And for yrselfe, family and all yrs at yr house, my prayers, so these are my counsells even such as they are viz: first, the kingdom of heaven must be sought; 2ly, Maynteyne honnble thoughts of God in all his dealings: 3ly, the feare of man or any sorte of men bringe a frowne, and, therefore, not to bee entertayned; for surely you must never think to satisfy all partyes and all sortes of men: 4ly, dayly intercourse with God and token of most temptations; 5ly, the least defilement of conscience will cost hot water; 6 and lastly, the

(1) This and several other letters have been recently copied for the author, by H. G. Somerby, Esq., from the Lansdowne Mss., in the British Museum. A few ellipses in them are occasionally supplied.

whole (duty) of man is to feare God etc. Eccle. 12. And for Ireland, a laborious, constant, sober ministry, and an industrious hand among all must be the preservation of Ireland with a good magistrate to back all. I love and leave and am yr Lordshipps
ever and ever H. P."

July 5. Major General Haynes informs Secretary Thurloe, that he met Peters last week at Cambridge and heard from him, that Parliament would meet in September.

15. Another communication from Peters to Henry Cromwell, in Dublin, follows. "My Lord, I must bee scribling to you, though you have given mee yr word long: Alas! you need not fear when you are so beloved and honoured: but I leave you to yr liberty. Sir John coming tomorrow to you, will say all. The French are beaten sadly, the K: of Swed: not so etc. These bare witnesse the world is shaking. To you I say, keepe where God hath placed you, with expectation, humility and quietness. Love the truth and peace, bee open and playne (as you are) in all yr works, turne your heart outward for God and godlyness and fear nothing. I think you are in yr place and worke: believe mee, the world is shaking. God keep us steadfast. I was at Cambridge commencement where you are etc. Let me have a word. I can be secret. If not, I can and must be still. Yr. H. P.

Your brother hath a son: Salute yr Ladye[1] and all with you, yr Secretary etc. I can write no more yet."

1657. Feb. 24. Another epistle[2] is dated to pass in the same direction between these correspondents. "My Lord. These are to returne you my hearty acknowledgments of your care of young Mr Weld and men of his constitution. I hope your Lordshipp shall have no cause to repent you of any requests, made by mee and answered by you, for truly therein I shall be tender, because I tender you as my owne heart, and doe often please myselfe with my thoughts about you and the presence of the Lord with you in yr worke. How well doe matters goe on, when wee measure them by the other world, where Eternity dwells, and where our works must be weighed over agayne. The blood of Christ, mingled with them, will give them their true alloy. Oh (my Lord) labor after that meate, which will never perish, that ioy where no mixtures have accesse. You have knowne, in yr few dayes, much vanity written upon most creatures, and you may see an end of all perfections, but the Law is exceeding broad. Go on and prosper in the name and power of the Lord. You heare by others, how it is here. I am very much taken off by age and other wayes from busy business and would fayne see Jesus. None can more love you, I think, than yr Lordshipps
H. P."

April 13. William Hooke relates to Winthrop of Connecticut, "Mr Peters is not yet recovered out of his late eclipse, but I hear better of his preaching than was formerly spoken of it." This

(1) She was a daughter of Sir Francis Russell, of Chippenham, in Cambridgeshire.
(2) Though this has no year yet it seems to be of 1657.

passage appears to indicate that some mental darkness, more than common, had come over Peters. The derangement of his wife, which greatly afflicted him, had such a tendency, especially in connection with his own nervous temperament. On this matter, he wrote to the same correspondent, addressed by the words just quoted, in 1654, " my old malady, the spleen ; that now I give my life gone and shall outlive my parts, I fear." Whatever may have been the admonition, that no earthly allurements should turn the heart of faith from immortal perfection, the habitual spirit of Peters led him to receive it in submission and follow its guidance.

May 8. As having had a principal hand in helping along the nation to its present attitude, Peters feels a deep interest in the solution of the question by Cromwell, whether he will be a King or Protector, and in his decision to assume the last title. The collision of political parties, which gave rise to such problems, was enough to fill the breasts of Peters and all others, who had borne the burden and heat of the day for the public weal, with anxious forebodings as to the future.

June 13. The pen of Peters again runs with a free heart, to the son of the Protector. " My Lord. These are to second also the letters of my Lord Deputy in the behalfe of Mr Dell's kinsman, that hee may gayne some preferment there. Indeed, in such things, you may doe old friends curtesyes. For other things, I am only to write my constant encouragement to yr Lordshipp in the wayes and things of God, and for the good of that poor nation. I trust yet here wee shall goe beyond the feare of good men, and the hopes of bad. Yr brother Sr John Reynolds wee expect back from France, where as yet there is nothing done of note. The k: of Swed: prospers and who can tell but that the Pope is upon a dismall shake at this tyme. Judge Cooke is now with me, and presents his service unto yr Lordshipp, and so doth Yr Lordshipps H. P."

Aug. 14. Similar breathings of genuine philanthropy give life to the subsequent communication. " My noble Lord. These are only to accompany the bearer Mr Snelling to yr Lordshipp, an honest man and of singular parts in severall kinds. Indeed it is rare to meet with such an one every way, for turning in ivory, it is strange, Chimistry, Accounts, fayre writing. He hath right to some land by his brothers death, Maior Snelling, 1500 akers etc. Yr Lordshipps favor may doe him much good. Hee means to settle there. If hee could have a little helpe, he can serve many wayes in yr family. At the worst, he begs to ride in yr troope and hath a horse with him: I humbly beg yt your eye may bee cast upon him, who may bee very usefull. I crave pardon for this continued boldness, and with my hartyest wishes and longings for the true good of yr Lordshipp, the good Lady, and all yrs, am yr Excellencyes H. P."

1658. Jan. 12. " The Protector resolved to have a collection for the poor persecuted Protestants of Piedmont." This was touching a chord of sympathetic obligation, which ever found a ready

and deep-toned response from the inmost soul of Peters. Like electric pulsations, it met with instant and full-formed tallies upon his heart, which led him to energetic choice and action. Of the large sum contributed in generous old England for so noble a charity, he was an earnest and successful solicitor.

July 11. Two communications, one of this and another of the next date, from Col. William Lockhart, in Dunkirk, to Secretary Thurloe, furnish several extracts. "Mr Peters is arryved and hath acquainted me with some things, that he sayth your Lordshipp hath been fully acquainted with; to the carrying on of which I shall surely contribute my share; and shall pray that his proposalls may prosper and be acceptable to all good men." 18. "I could not suffer our worthy friend, Mr Peters, to come away from Dunkerke without a testimony of the greatt benefitts we have all received from him in this place, wher he hath laid himself forth in great charity and goodnesse, in sermons, prayers and exhortations, in visiting and relieving the sick and wounded; and in all these profitably applying the singular talent God hath bestowed upon him to the two chief ends propper for our auditory; for he hath not only shewen the soldiers their duty to God and prest it home upon them, I hope to good advantage, but hath lykewyse acquainted them with their obligations of obedience to his Highness government and affection to his persone." Thus we have a fair relation of the faithfulness with which Peters still continued to exercise his uncommon talents as a preacher, who held, that the chief strength of the kingdom was based on civil and religious obedience. The same officer continues. "It were superfluous to tell your Lordshipp the story of our present condition, either as to the civill government, works or soldiery. He (Peters) who hath studdied all these more than any I know heare, can certainly give the best account of them. Wherefore I comitt the whole to his information, and begge your Lordshipps casting a favourable eie upon such propositions, as he will offer to your Lordshipp for the good of this garrison." He adds that Peters had visited Berg and had three or four conversations with Cardinal Mazarine.

Sept. 3. Cromwell is summoned by death, from the perils and anxieties of his exalted station. At the commital of what were supposed his mortal remains (but which, some authors say, had a secret burial) to the tomb, amid the ceremonies of State, Peters, as among the Chaplains of Whitehall, joins in the funeral procession. Thus, as it was thought, did he help to lay in the dust what he had greatly assisted in raising to the pinnacle of earthly glory. His experience in this and many other instances of human greatness, which had gone down from high places to the narrow lodgements of earth, under his watchful eye, as it noted the changes of ever-progressive time,—could verily affirm, that such a possession had always given far more promise than reality of excellence.

Oct. 12. The Assembly of Savoy, in London, begin their session. Peters is among their members. As they adopted the con-

fession of faith, owned by the Salem Church in 1629, it is very likely, from his having been pastor of this body and from his previous activity on such occasions, that he had a prominent concern in recommending the document to them.

26. As the shadow of his age lengthens in the light of time, and the attractions to earth fall from his grasp, Peters again addresses the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. "Upon the death of yr father I wrote and know not whither my despicable lines touched yr hands. And yet such hath bin my constancy to your Lordshipp, that neither fawning nor frowning has taken place with me to make me fearfull or careless in reference to yr selfe or yr affayres; but I cannot bee a courtier (as they say.) You had long since my thoughts in writing, nor am I doubtfull of the good effect they tooke, and I wish the Lord would please to keepe you every way to his praise in Christ. Yr Lordshipps worke in yr owne salvation for ever, and the serving the Lords interests whilst you are here. Yr last Synod there of ministers hath not a little affected and afflicted us here. Doubtless the World is one thing and the Church another: If their destruction bee slighted, fare well God and goodness: I am not so uncivill to ask an account of yr Highness. Alas! what am I? But if I love you, then I must doe. Flatterers never loved you. Friends doe, that are playne. I wish you never hear *unam partem* only. See who are about you. *Noscitur e socio* etc. Servants and companions tell any man's constitution. I give you a hynt of yr worth. Yr father dyed as he lived, an Independent. Presbytery and Independency are all the consistency in religion. I am yr Lordshipps – H. P.

I feare yr horrid excise will shake yr Country."

1659. April 22. Richard Cromwell is compelled by factions to dissolve Parliament. In reference to this event, which Peters dreaded as the extinguishment of his ardent hopes for the continuance of free institutions, he observed, "I staid so long at Whitehall, contented with any good government, that would keep things, till the breach of what they call Richard's Parliament, and then I removed, and never returned more,* but fell sick long and in trouble ever since." No wonder that his soul was pained and discouragement oppressed his spirits, in perceiving the Commonwealth, for whose trials he had wept and prayed, and to whose existence he had largely contributed by his toils, perils and sufferings,—about to be crushed by accumulated contention of parties, whose vitiated taste loathed the manna of freedom and longed for the leeks and onions of bondage.

1660. Jan. 29. General Monk being expected in London from Scotland, with his army, Peters is designated by the Republican Parliament, on the eve of dissolution, to deliver a discourse before him at St. Alban's. His text was from 107 Psalm, 7 vs.

(*) In a Catalogue of the British Museum are the subsequent entries. "Peter's Patern, or the perfect path to worldly happiness, in a funeral sermon, preached at his interment, by J. C. 4to. London, 1659. Peter's resurrection; by way of Dialogue between him and a Merchant; occasioned upon the publishing a pretended sermon at his funeral. 4to. 1659."

"We led them forth by the right way, that they might go to a city of habitation." He reviewed the wars of the Commonwealth, its seasons of peace, its recent difficulties and its hopes of deliverance. He remarked, that, however the people of God had "not yet come to a city of habitation, he was still leading them on the right way, how dark soever his dispensations might appear to men." It is plain, that his former elasticity of emotion, when dilating on public affairs, had become much depressed, though he still trusted that the Omnipotent arm would provide a dwelling of rest for all, who followed its guidance.

Feb. 6. A report, though incorrect, having reached New England, that Peters had closed his eventful career, Roger Williams thus addressed Winthrop, of Connecticut; "Sir, you were not long since the son of two noble fathers, Mr John Winthrop and Mr H. Peters. It is said, they are both extinguished. Surely, I did ever, from my soul, honour and love them, even when their judgments led them to afflict me." Such direct testimony of one, who had been long and particularly acquainted with Peters, should weigh more, than all the disparaging representations of his character by the mouths and pens of political foes. The affliction, spoken of in this connection, as occasioned by Winthrop and Peters, was, as these sincerely believed, the result of their official duty to execute laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, though the sufferer and his advocates thought very differently.

Looking back on his diversified course, on the desertion of many, who were once gladdened with his smile, on the prostration of his hopes for the temporal and spiritual progress of his countrymen, Peters gives utterance to the sober thoughts of his soul. Of such expressions are these, "I am heartily sorry, that I was popular; better known to others, than to myself." Aware that the wide influence, which he had long been invited to exert in public affairs, was fast waning with the several interests connected with them, and which had left him less opportunity to study and regulate his own motives, affections and actions, than would have been for his benefit, he ingenuously confesses the sentiment just related, which truthful reflection, so circumstanced, must always do. He continues, "It hath much lain to my heart above any thing almost, that I left that people I was engaged to in New England. Though I never took ecclesiastical promotion," I was "not without offers and great ones. Nor do I take pleasure in remembering any my least activity in State matters, though this I can say, I no where minded who ruled, fewer or more, so the good ends of Government be given out, in which men may live in godliness and honesty." This comparative view of what might have been his continuance as the laborious pastor of a parish in this country, and what were his actual relations to the Church and Commonwealth of his native land, in which he deliberated, counselled and strove far more for national welfare than for his own, though he had eminent opportunities to have obtained the latter, he appears to regret, as results were, that he

ever recrossed the Atlantic to engage in the struggles and dangers of Revolution. Similar acknowledgements every life of threescore years is constrained to make, in a greater or less degree, according to its pursuits. None who have reached such an age, are so perfect, that they can truly assert, we have committed no mistakes either in judgment or action, which we would rectify, were it divinely put in our power.

April. The Republic having been despaired of, and the tables turned so as to favor royalty, the tried friends of the late administration are liable to be called in question for the part they had acted. Among them Peters is summoned before the Council of State to give an account of Bishop Laud's books. He craves leave to do it by writing, because confined, by sickness, to his private lodgings. His request is granted. Painful to his soul is the contrast between being welcomed and urged by statesmen in session, to recount the triumphs of their forces and being arraigned by such of opposite principles, as charged with misdemeanor.

In connection with this subject, he relates, that his "estate was gone;" that he was in debt, and resolved to spend the rest of his days either in Old or New England, "looking into the grave and eternity." Thus coming to the conclusion, to which every true Christian does, who has tried life in all its phases of smiles and frowns, that it is wiser and better to make greater preparation for the future world, than the present, Peters cherishes the hope, that he shall not be numbered among the victims, singled out to expiate for the offences of the Commonwealth against the Throne. His words are, "I thought the act of indemnity would have included me, but the hard character upon me, excluded me, which I was so sensible of, that nature (in its preservation) carried me to privacy, but free from that report of the manner, which is suggested, of which you may be assured." Here he refers to the story, circulated by his opponents, that he secreted himself in one place and another, until he was apprehended in Southwark.

July. News of this date subsequently reached John Davenport, and he sent it, Oct. 17, to Winthrop of Connecticut, "that those[1] who were of the High Court of Justice, and condemned the former King, their estates are confiscated, 20 of them imprisoned, three of them like to die, viz. Jones, Harrison and Say [2] (if I do not misread) and that Dr. Goodwin, Mr Nie and Mr Peters are imprisoned, likely to loose their lives." Though this report did not prove correct, in all its particulars, still it did for the most part. Such was one fearful result of the downfall of the Republic, for this class of men, who had hazarded all for its support and continuance. No doubt that Peters and others prominently engaged, as he had been for greater freedom than can consist with monarchy, feared, at times, that, according to the general experience of like changes, if Charles II. should be re-

[1] Part of these judges in custody of the Sergeant at Arms, are ordered, Aug. 25, 1660, to be delivered up by him to the Lieutenant of the Tower.

[2] This nobleman had promoted the restoration of Charles II., which obtained him the office of Lord Privy Seal.

stored to the throne of his father, they would be in peril of being tried and condemned as traitors.

While Peters was confined to the Tower, his Majesty sent a warrant to the Lieutenant for obtaining information of him about the royal library. The prisoner declared, that, in 1648, he preserved it in St. James's, from the encroachment of soldiers; that it was in his custody three or four months; that he left it neither diminished nor injured, and delivered the key of it to General Ireton.

In the same fortress, where multitudes charged with State offences, had been incarcerated, he composed "A Dying Father's Last Legacy to an Only Child." He sent it to his daughter a short time before his death. This parental memento abounds with good sense, sound religion and beneficial counsel. The writers of the preface supply us with an extract or two. "Be not discouraged from reading this small treatise, because of the unhappy end of a wearisome pilgrimage, which the author met with in this world. If we get a fall in a journey, or meet with a great shower of rain, so it be in the close of the day, when we are near our Inn, where we meet with accommodation and refreshment, we are the less troubled. You will find in this Legacy, that he had a root of grace, and that the fountain was clear, from which ran so savoury a stream; and that at the last when he had no hope to save a frail body, yet he minded his own and others souls; and that he was a Master Workman in that mystery, wherein he had labored successfully so many years; and we hope, that notwithstanding the prejudice of some against him, and the words of others, and his sad catastrophe, we may charitably judge that God hath wiped away all tears from his eyes, that he is entered into rest, his works following him, and that he is made perfect by his great sufferings." Addressing his daughter relative to the falsity of such as were friends to him in his prosperity, but were now his foes, Peters observed, "how manie sad experiences can I witness to of this kind, yea, in these times and changes. Fair dove-coats have most pigeons. Lost estates know no friends."

Oct. 10. As the time of trial for those charged as regicides, draws nigh, Peters and others of them are conveyed in several coaches, from the Tower, under a strong guard of horse and foot, to Newgate. While those of his friends who well knew him, deeply felt for his adversity and advocated his integrity, his prosecutors, who joined the hue and cry against the chief supporters of the late Commonwealth, brought him to trial on the 13th of October. The Tribunal, before whom he was arraigned, could not, in consequence of their political feelings and professions, treat his case with impartiality. They believed, that the extreme penalty of the law was none too severe for any one, who had dared speak and act so as to procure the overthrow of monarchy, though subversive of popular rights. However they might not verbally allow, yet they cherished the sentiment, expressed by the Counsellors of Cambyses, "Though there be a written law, the Per-

sian Kings may do what they please." Of course, they had no sympathy with the republican position, that justice required satisfaction of the Sovereign, who trampled the national Constitution under feet, as well as of his subjects, guilty of a similar crime. While this was true of the Court, it was essentially so of the jury and the accusers. These partook of the prevalent prejudice against the Revolutionists, of whom Peters was represented to them as among the chief. Thus situated, he had little to hope for from the hands of those, who held his life at their disposal. What he regarded as justifiable in the question before them, they accounted as condemnable.

Sir Edward Turner said to the jury, "You have heard, that the substantial part of the charge is compassing and imagining the death of the King, and all the rest will be but evidence to prove that imagination against the prisoner at the bar, whom we will prove to be a principal actor in this sad tragedy, and next to him, whom God hath taken away and reserved to his own judgment." Thus Peters is presented as second only to Oliver Cromwell in causing the death of Charles.

In this critical emergency sad emotions crowded the heart of Peters. The acquaintances, who would have sustained and heartily pleaded his cause, were either driven away by the terrors of the Restoration or confined within the walls of a prison. He had none to appear in his behalf, to thread out the intricacies of evidence, given from memory after the lapse of more than eleven years, and under the greatest temptations to swerve from whatever should favor him; to sift the chaff from the wheat in testimony so liable to be inaccurate, and represent his motives, words and acts in a false light, and to lay his case before the jury with the impressiveness of fact and eloquence. Under such appalling circumstances Peters stood before his accusers.

Young, previously referred to, was the first to depose. Many of the items, which he narrated, appear to be true, because consistent with the cause of freedom, to which the accused was devoted. But as to those, which bore on his advising and acting for the King's execution, he remarked, "I was in sickness then. Those that have known me, do know likewise I have much weakness in my head when I am sick, and to take words, that are spoken in a sick condition, he ought not to do it. For the words themselves, I do here profess against them, for the generality of them. It is marvellous. Here I profess the things untruths." Such language accords with what has been already adduced on this point.

Another asserted, that he saw Peters at the Star, in Coleman Street, in consultation with Cromwell and others about "Charles Stuart," then a prisoner. He added, "I guessed it to be something drawn up against the King. I perceived, that Mr Peters was privie to it and pleasant in the company," and "wore a great sword." Peters replied, "I was never there but once. I never wore a great sword in my life."

Walkeley declared, "I heard him in Westminster Hall say,

within a year or two after the army was raised, if we can keep up our army but seven years longer, we need not care for the King and all his posterity."

Hardwick stated, that when proclamation was made in the same place, for the trial of his majesty, Peters "came out into the Palace yard," and observed to many officers there, "All this is worth nothing, unless you proclaim it in Cheapside and at the old Exchange." To this Peters responded, "I cannot acknowledge it."

Holland Simson deposed, that, while the trial of Charles was proceeding, Peters bade Col. Stubbards "command the soldiers to cry out, justice, justice, against the traitor at the Bar." To this Peters rejoined, "I do believe, that he that swore that, cannot say I was there. I do not know this gentleman. Did he ever see me?" The witness answered, "Yes, at the Deanery, in consultation with Bradshaw and you were admitted and no man else as I know, unless Sir William Brereton, who came along with you."

Richardson testified, that, on the first day of the High Court's adjournment, Peters commended the conduct of Bradshaw and Cooke, and said, "This is a most glorious beginning of the work." The prisoner asked the witness where abouts in the Court, he saw him. The reply was "in the body of the Court." Peters answered, "My Lord, I do not know, that I ever was in the body of the Court."

Sir Jeremy Whitchcot declared, that he had heard Peters narrate the escape of Cromwell, when Parliament purposed to confine him in the Tower, as a traitor, and describe a meeting of army officers at which Peters "used this expression, And there we did resolve to set aside the King." This statement was probably correct. The dethronement of his Majesty was the result of necessities, in which the advocates for freedom were placed. Either he must lose his sceptre or their cause be lost and they liable to die on the scaffold.

Clough affirmed, that he was present at a council of officers, pretending to be one of them, and heard Peters, who was invited to ask divine aid in their deliberations, "utter these words, O Lord, what a mercy it is to see this great city fall down before us; and what a stir is there to bring this great man to tryal, without whose blood he will turn us all into blood, if he reign again." Being asked if he heard this statement, Peters replied, "Some part I did, but it is impossible for me to bear down many witnesses; indeed, my Lord, I say this, they are marvellously uncharitable, and speak many false things."

Then several other witnesses were called, who professed to have heard Peters preach his sermons in Dec. 1648, and Jan. 1649, previously mentioned, and who represented them as urging the necessity of the King's execution. With regard to the first discourse at St. Margaret's and his being accused of comparing Charles to Barabbas, who ought not to be freed, Peters said, "I

must profess against most of that." Relative to the description, given of what he delivered at Whitehall, from 149 Psalm, he affirmed, "It is false." Similar charges were made against him for preaching this sermon, the day after his majesty's sentence was passed.

Another individual deposed, that he saw Peters on the scaffold, an hour before the royal prisoner was brought thither, and strongly intimated that he was of the two in disguise, one of whom was the executioner. But this accusation, we have already seen, was not true.

When the testimonies were all given in, Peters had leave to speak for himself. He took a brief survey of his course since he left New England. A few extracts follow. "When I came into the nations, I looked after three things. One was, that there might be sound religion; the second, that learning and laws might be maintained; the third, that the poor might be cared for. I must confess, I have spent most of my time in these things, to this end and purpose. After I had seen the state of England, in some measure I did stir; the ministers of London deeper than I. I had neither malice nor mischief in my heart against the King. I do not deny but that I was active, but not to stir in any way that was not honorable. I had so much respect for his Majesty, particularly at Windsor, that I propounded my thoughts three ways to preserve himself from danger, which were good, as he was pleased to think, though they did not succeed." He regretted whatever in his conduct, relative to the executed monarch, appeared to be incorrect. It would have been surprising had he recollected nothing to render him sad, in his many remarks and actions, amid false confidants, who pried into his private thoughts in order to expose them, if an opportunity presented to advance their selfish interests, and most exciting circumstances, which had immediate reference to the Sovereign, whose policy he conscientiously believed was subversive of true English liberty. As to this subject, his language was, "I am very sorry to hear of my carriage towards the King. It is my great trouble. I beg pardon for my folly and weakness. I thought God had a great controversy with the Nation. That which some people took to, I did take unto. I went into the army. I saw at the beginning, that corruptions grew among them. I suppose none can say I have gone aside from any orthodox truth of the Lord." Such an apology may seem to some, as an indication of his consciousness, that the course he had pursued in behalf of political rights, was wrong. No. He evidently did not mean to throw up his long cherished principles. He still believed, that his more than ordinary compliance with them, though accompanied with human infirmities, and execrated by advocates for the Crown, had the sanction of the highest authority. Others, in whose integrity we have great confidence, have made similar concessions in the hour of their dejection. Wise and his compatriots of Ipswich and other towns, who resisted the usurped power of Andros,

in 1687, did so to moderate his severity towards them. Though every man should adhere to the truth, he is not called either by wisdom or obligation, to provoke the irresistible storm.

Being told, that if he had anything more to say in his own behalf, he might do it, or else the jury would rise and make out their verdict, Peters replied, "My Lord, if I had time and opportunity, I could take off many of the witnesses, but because their testimony is without controul, I cannot satisfy myself. I have no skill in the law. I do not know what to say more, unless I had more time and counsel." The Solicitor then, with all the bitterness of a royalist, who had no compassion or charity for one that had taken part in the revolution, states the evidence presented. Among his expressions was the following. "What man could more contrive the death of the King, than this miserable Priest has done? The death of this man will preach better than his life did." Thus this professed functionary of justice treated the fallen, as guilty, even before the jury had decided on his case. They retired for a short time, and returned. Being asked for their decision, they pronounced him guilty of treason.

After this conclusion, which affected the auditors according to their views of the past and present polity of the kingdom, John Cooke, who was conspicuous in the trial of the King, was brought in and placed with Peters, so that they might receive their sentences together. The Lord Chief Baron addressed them. "You know, both of you, the rule of Law is, that the King can do no wrong." He referred them to their oath of allegiance, and observed, that the legal perfection of his majesty forbid them to break it, but as they had done so they must pay the penalty. He observed, that even if they did not intend to go so far as to have him put to death, but encouraged his imprisonment, they were traitors. He then pronounced the sentence, usual for the crime charged upon them; that they be carried back to prison, thence be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, there hung by the neck, be cut down while alive, have their entrails taken out, etc., and burnt before their eyes, their heads cut off, their bodies quartered, and, thus divided, be disposed of at the royal pleasure.

So closed the arraignment of Peters with one of the heaviest denunciations, of which human language is capable, or which human displeasure can inflict. The momentous scene, through which he had passed, exhibited him as leaning on Christian principle, which sustained him, under the accumulation of charges, that subjected him to a speedy and awful death.

Thus brought to the extremity, which must often have crossed his mind after the throne was reëstablished, Peters goes back to his confinement, neither the better nor the worse, morally considered, for the judgment passed upon his person. At heart, he was the same man, in the sight of his Almighty Protector, with the curse of human law upon him, as he would have been, had its favors been profusely showered upon his head. This was his

consolation, and bore him above the frowns of a false and fickle world.

As previously expressed, his hope of being cleared, if brought to trial on the accusation against him, as defined by the Court, could not have been strong. What they laid down as treason, he construed as the fruit of love for rational liberty. How far his advice and efforts for the security and continuance of free government, tended to occasion the death of Charles I., can never be precisely known from the records of time. As confirmatory of what he declared while at the bar, we have his deliberate and solemn asseveration to his daughter, "I never had hand in contriving or acting his death, as I am scandalized, but the contrary to my mean power. I confess what I did, I did strenuously; never was angry with any of the King's party, not any of them, for being so; thought the Parliament authority lawful; have not had my hand in any man's blood, but saved many in life and estate." In the practice of such openness, energy and beneficence, he was careful to avoid the extremes not only of severity to royalists, but also of flattery to republicans. He remarked as to his friend, Lord Grey, "I advised him against the spirit of levelling. In addresses to the public, while flourishing without the Crosier and Crown, he was faithful to rebuke their moral deficiencies, and to urge gospel reform, as the only means of long-continued and vigorous prosperity.

Aside from Peters's own declarations, Dr. Barwick asserted, that the charge of being a regicide could not be proved against him. Oldmixon, in his history of the Stuarts, affirmed that Peters "was not at all concerned in the King's death; if Charles the Second had regarded the promises in his declaration, to pardon all but those that were, his life had been saved." There was strong reason why the regal clemency should have been extended to him, as it was to John Milton, Harry Martyn, and John Goodwin, who were co-workers with him in raising up and sustaining the Commonwealth.

Even on the supposition that Peters and his friends had forfeited their lives, as actors in the revolution, able arguments were published to prove that they should be spared. The Traitor's Claim, being a letter, addressed by a lawyer to a member of the House of Commons, Aug. 20, 1661, took such a position. Its plea was founded on the royal proclamation of June, 1660, which required persons accused of treason, to appear before the Speaker of Parliament, within fourteen days, "under pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity, both for their respective lives and estates." A few of its passages follow. "Seeing to be drawn, hanged and quartered, was the due pain, assigned by the law for their treason, *exception from pardon* was a new pain, on the new offence of the *latency or escape from tryal*, which if it imply not immunity on their appearance, I must confess I am to seek what it signifieth, and the speech of King and Parliament must be (*vox et preterea nihil*) insignificant. Though these men were condemned,

yet their lives were secured unto them," by the act of indemnity. "The condition of these men by confidence of grace, being rendered worse than theirs, that fled from it. The General summons a garrison to be yielded within twenty-four hours, on pain of burning to the town and slaughter to every man. They yield to the summons and are saved." The prisoners "can never be drawn to execution, without drawing the guilt and disgrace of cruelty, revenge and perfidie on a Faith-Keeping Prince and Parliament."

The opinions of civil and religious liberty, cherished by Peters, were essentially the same, as those entertained, professed and practised by the primitive worthies of New England. They were such as prompted Bradford and his coadjutors to stand against the plan of the Council for New England, to render this country a strict imitator of its mother-kingdom in hierarchy and royalty, under Robert Gorges, in 1623; and against the secret operations of most among their company in England to plant Episcopacy, under John Lyford, at Plymouth, in 1624, for a like purpose. They were such as prompted the authorities of Massachusetts to decline compliance with an order of the Council, in 1634, and, also, with the mandate of the King, in 1637, to give back their Charter, and, in the mean while, to prepare for resistance to the landing of a General Governor from armed ships, continually and anxiously expected, as the commissioned agent to set the seal of death on all their free institutions. They were such as restrained John Humfrey, John Endicott, Richard Bellingham, Increase Nowell and William Pynchon, original patentees, named in the Charter, from disclaiming this document, in 1636, as commanded by judicial functionaries of the Crown, and thus brought upon them the sentence of being outlaws. They were such as led New Haven to afford a retreat to Whalley and Goffe, charged with the same offence as Peters was, in 1660, and for which among other evidences of anti-royalism, they had their territory swallowed up, in 1662, by the charter of their sister colony, Connecticut. They were such as influenced the Massachusetts Legislature to decline sending over William Hathorne and others, in 1666, to answer for the refusal of the former to have any further negotiation with the regal commissioners, concluding that they should be safer in the breach than in the observance of his majesty's behest. They were such as stimulated New England, in 1689, to throw off the usurpation of James II., at the hazard of being defeated and punished as insurgents. Indeed Peters acted with as upright motives in taking side with a republican Parliament, as the best of our country's patriots did in the Revolution for our Independence. The judicial authorities, who were inveterate against him, would have been equally so against them, if convened in their day and holding similar power over them. The last act of the British Government in this State is an exemplification of such language. On June 12, 1775, Gage issued his proclamation, offering pardon to all who had resisted the Crown, except John Hancock and Samuel Adams, "whose offences," as

he declared, "are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration, than that of condign punishment." Had their cause failed, like that of Peters, and they been captured by the victors, they would have been numbered among the martyrs of freedom, with him first and Vane the second. While speaking of some who had more fully advocated the execution of Charles, than Peters, if he actually did so, but still were spared, one of the annotators on this point remarked, "Peters therefore suffered more than others, though he had done less to deserve it than others, which we may suppose was contrary to his expectation," as expressed in his Legacy.

For the course pursued by Peters, many were the execrations on his memory, uttered by writers of more zeal than discretion, more boldness than accuracy. Dr. Grey calls him "the gingerbread prophet, the late pastor of a hunger-starved flock of Salem, in New England, that disguised executioner, that bloody butcher of the King." All these epithets are utter falsehoods. Certainly the good people in the city of peace, can instantly and righteously stave off the charge on their reputation. And facts can similarly set aside the rest from all communion with decency and truth. We would not doubt the sincerity of such writers, as suffered their love for restored monarchy, to retail not only "twice-told" but the hundred-times-told slanders heaped on the unsuccessful leaders of the English Commonwealth. But sincerity is often at fault in the eyes of veracity and equity. For cherishing and manifesting opinions like those of Peters, many were the hard names which the Whigs of our country received from their opponents. For years, they were altogether styled rebels and pirates. As to particulars, we extract some from an English periodical, called the Political Magazine, for July, 1781.

"John Adams, the rebel ambassador at Amsterdam, was originally bred to the law. In person, he is a clumsy, middle-sized man, and according to all appearance by taking to the law and politics has spoiled an able ploughman or porter, though the trade of a butcher would have better suited the bloody bent of his mind. He has read Tristram Shandy, and affects, awkwardly enough, a smartness which does not at all correspond either with his personal figure, or with his natural dulness." Speaking of Thomas Cushing and Robert Treat Paine, it says, "The first of these was a distiller, and the last a lawyer; and both were weak, insignificant men, the tools of Samuel Adams, the grand confederate of that hoary traitor, Franklin." But one more of its subjects, thus served up, will be presented. "Samuel Huntingdon, the new President of the Rebel Congress, is the son of a farmer. He was bred to the law, and was poor at the breaking out of the rebellion, but being gifted with a smooth tongue, and being insinuating and deceitful, has become popular, and probably rich, by fleecing his deluded constituents." What a gross perversion of truth, as to all these patriots, in those traits, for which they have been highly respected and esteemed!

While these and many other leaders of the American revolution are deservedly honored, though formerly cast down to the lowest depths of infamy by the tongues and pens of their trans-Atlantic opponents, let us not suffer the fame of Peters to be marred and blasted by the outpourings of similar billingsgate.

Oct. 14. The next day after the condemnation of Peters, he employed part of his time very properly for one, whose ministrations on earth were soon to terminate. He delivered a discourse in Newgate, from 42 Psalm, 11 vs. "Why art thou cast down, oh, my soul," etc. Doctrine—"The best of God's people are apt to despond." One of his reasons for this was, "When our afflictions are many, when all is struck at, name, estate, relation and life itself." Among the means presented by him for relief, was, "Be careful of exercising faith, for no condition of man supersedes faith. Now what is the exercise of faith, but rolling upon Christ and staying on him? Here I'll stick. If I perish, I perish."

The sentiments so expressed by the speaker, fully harmonized with his own feelings. While imprisoned, he was, at times, visited with depression of spirits, an occasional complaint of long standing. As the hour of his departure drew on, he was tried in this manner, "fearing, as he would often say, that he should not go through his sufferings with courage and comfort." He observed, "though it was a cloudy and dark day with him for a season, yet the light of God's grace and favor would break forth at last. A little before he went forth to execution (as many can testify) he was well composed in his spirit and cheerfully said, I thank God, now I can die. I can look death in the face and not be afraid."

While he and the other prisoners were seriously expecting their exit from life, Drs. Barwick and Dolben waited on them. They addressed Peters and persuaded him to a "recantation of his former activity in the Parliament cause, by a promise of pardon from the King." But he "told them, that he had no cause, in the least, to repent of his adhering to that interest, but rather, that he had in the prosecution thereof, done no more for God and his people in these nations, and with civility dismissed those visitants," and conversed with other ministers there, whose views were more congenial with his own, and enabled them to sympathize more fully with him in his affliction. Could he have brought himself, as others did under the same accusation, to renounce his political creed, contradict his numerous professions of attachment to popular rights, and condemn his long series of energetic actions for the promotion of rational liberty, he might have been saved from the scaffold. But sooner than resist the protestations of his conscience and carry with him through the rest of his pilgrimage, the bitter recollections of violated truth, he nobly put aside the alluring offer and gave his life, as the fullest test of his rectitude.

Cooke, the fellow sufferer of Peters, observed to him, the evening before their execution, "Brother Peters, we shall be in heaven tomorrow, in bliss and glory; what a blessed thing is that—my

very heart leaps within me for joy! I am just now as I was in the storm, almost in sight of heaven." He referred to his feelings in a gale of wind, while crossing the Irish channel. He then desired his friend to read passages from Isaiah and Hosea. The next morning he said, "Come, brother Peters, let us knock at heaven's gate. God will open the doors of Eternity to us before twelve of the clock, and let us into that innumerable company of saints and angels, and to the souls of just men, made perfect, and then we shall never part more, but be with the Lord forever and ever." This and other instances relative to the manner, in which Peters spent his time in prison after his condemnation, render it fully evident, that his whole deportment was then eminently spiritual and such as preparation for an exchange of worlds, rationally and scripturally demanded. And yet the pen of slander represented, that he had, in that solemn period, shaken "off all sense of piety, if ever he had any."

On the 16th, the last day that he was to behold the light of temporal life, Peters was drawn on a sled to Charing Cross. Here he was placed within the rails, so that his sensibility might be excited and lacerated at the sight of his friend Cooke's sufferings. So situated, a person rudely approached and upbraided him, as a regicide and bade him repent. Thus accosted, he answered, "Friend, you do not well to trample on a dying man; you are greatly mistaken; I had nothing to do in the death of the King." When Cooke was taken down and about to be quartered, the sheriff's men were ordered to bring Peters nearer, that he might have a more distinct view of the awful scene. The hangman soon came up, besmeared with blood and rubbing his gory hands together, tauntingly inquired, "how do you like this, Mr. Peters?" He firmly replied, "I am not, I thank God, terrified at it; you may do your worst." When going to the gallows, he bent a piece of gold, and desired a man whom he knew, to carry it where his daughter lodged and give it to her as his dying token of parental benediction, and "That his heart was as full of comfort as it could be, and that before that piece should come to her hands, he should be with God in glory." Being on the ladder, he addressed the Sheriff, "Sir, you have here slain one of the servants of God before my eyes, and have made me behold it, on purpose to terrify and discourage me; but God hath made it an ordinance to me for my strengthening and encouragement." He offered some remarks and prayed, but the most of what he uttered was not audible enough to be noted down. But the subsequent passage, however, was preserved. "What, flesh, art thou unwilling to go to God through the fire and jaws of death? Oh! this is a good day. He is come, that I have long looked for, and I shall be with him in glory." With his face irradiated with the smile of heavenly assurance, his spirit soon took its flight; and, as we trust, to become the subject of a Commonwealth, liable to no change from human frailties, but ever dispensing its blissful benefits to the myriads within its perfect jurisdiction.

While the immortal part of Peters had gone to enter on eternal realities, his remains were treated with the indignities, which the sentence decreed. His body being quartered, his head was set on a pole on London bridge. Thus he died, in subjection to the penalty of the law, aged sixty-one years. Of him and his companions in affliction, Goldsmith remarked, "They bore the scorn of the multitude and the cruelty of the executioner, not simply with fortitude, but with the spirit and confidence of martyrs, who suffered for having done their duty."

Among the signs of popular dislike to the execution of such as were charged with being regicides, various prodigies, mostly, if not altogether fabulous, were reported to have occurred and been seen on the day of their exit. One was, that a person, "inveighing against Peters, as he went to the Gibbet, was torn and almost killed by his own tame, favorite dog."

Soon after the decease of Peters, and in the same year, a sermon of his, taken from the notes of a reporter, was printed. The preface implies, that however the author of the discourse had incurred public censure, yet his instructions should be received on their own merits; they were "not as a trumpet sounding rebellion, but as a schoolmaster teaching religion." The text was from Isaiah, 55 c. 6 vs. "Seek the Lord, while he may be found, call ye upon him, while he is near." The whole subject was handled ably and impressively.

Thus we have looked at various points in the remarkable history of Hugh Peters. They are more and have called us over greater space, than was anticipated and desired in our outset. Before we take our final leave of his memorials, justice bids us notice some reproaches upon his reputation, by worthy authors of our own country. With their eye more fixed on the caricatures of advocates for "passive obedience," under all circumstances, than on the fair deductions of truth, they have fallen into the error of describing him, in his general character, as coarse, fiery, cruel, weak and ignorant. No investigator, who has candidly gone through the details of his biography and sifted fact from fiction, could ever accurately arrive to such a conclusion. Was he coarse? In the many and various instances which we have of his personal intercourse with others, he was a pattern of kind civility.

As to his mode of expression, we now and then meet with words which were current in his day, but in ours not so smooth as literary taste demands. But being noted down by reporters for the press, some of them probably never came from his lips, but were merely given as the signs of his thoughts. Take his style altogether, as it comes to us, without the finish of leisure and retirement, and we find nothing in it which can equitably fix upon him the prevalent characteristic of coarseness. Was he fiery? If by this inquiry we are to understand, that he was unusually passionate and rash, it finds no warrant either from his writings or actions. That he was zealous and actuated with

strong feeling in the numerous and important enterprises, which he undertook and prosecuted with approbation from high authorities, there is no doubt. Was he cruel? This is the last question which has any pertinent or constructive application to him. In genuine, active, untiring, frequent and great beneficence to those of other parties and other nations, as well as his own, he stood preëminent. Verily, if the qualities of "Great Heart," as given by Bunyan, ever belonged to any man, it did to Hugh Peters. Was he weak? If the interrogation refers to deficiency of intellect, energy and perseverance, it should be met with a decided negative. The implication of such a trait may have been predicated on his occasional depression of spirits. If so, this infirmity is more to be commiserated than censured, and is entirely consistent with strength of mind and purity of morals. Was he ignorant? Any person who reflects on his advantages of education, society and travel; on the many and eminent trusts committed to his care, requiring tact, talent, and intelligence, and successfully discharged; on the productions of his pen, which abound with historical, classical, biblical and general knowledge, cannot but wonder how it ever came to pass, that such a man should be called an ignoramus. Had the cotemporaries of Peters in this country, believed that the portraiture of him, so drawn with colors, borrowed from the pallet of transatlantic malignity, was true to the life, they would never have cherished the high respect for him, which the subsequent testimony implies. Chalmers, in his Political Annals, relates the words of John Crown, as delivered before royal functionaries, when our colonies were in anxious suspense lest the policy of Charles II. would destroy their civil and religious liberties. The deposition follows. "Being in company of several merchants at Boston, and discoursing of Hugh Peters and his execution, some persons did there say, that there were many godly in New England, that dared not condemn what Hugh Peters had done."

Passing from ill-founded conclusions, we will glance at the relative concerns of Peters. In his domestic affairs he was worthy of imitation. Of his first wife he spoke in high terms, and blessed God for the preciousness of her memory. His second, though bereft of her reason for twenty years, was the constant object of his affectionate solicitude. He set apart a generous portion of his income for her support. His parental attachment was strong and faithful. This is evinced in his last counsel and message to his afflicted daughter. In his clerical connexions, he deeply realized the sacred responsibility of them, and the divine blessing gave him multitudes, as the seals of his ministry. In his social and political relations, public good, temporal, spiritual and eternal, was a chief object of his wishes, plans, purposes and efforts.

Having thus taken a review of Peters in the varied incidents of his career and the traits of his character, we are admonished that it is time to close. Before, however, we do this, it may be well

to give our estimate of him, from the data already presented, as we did prospectively at the beginning of this memoir. It is as fully and sincerely our belief now as it was then, that he, with the usual infirmities of our race, was as far removed from their dominion and possessed as many excellences, as the most of his day, the remembrance of whose worthiness we cherish with more than ordinary respect and esteem. The tribute we heartily render to these, should not be withheld from him. The crown we award to them for having run well, is equally his due.

After the presentation of a few items as to the person and family of Peters, we will take our leave of this subject. With reference to the first, he was above the common stature, erect and muscular. His countenance wears the likeness of his character, open, energetic, intelligent, benevolent and striking. His last wife was in London, 1677, where she had been supported by Mr. Cockquaine and his church since his death. Then application was made for the congregation of Salem and others, who might sympathize with her troubles, to render her some assistance. His daughter Elizabeth was baptized 1640. In his parting advice to her, he observed, "your faithfulness to me and your mother will find acceptance in heaven, I trust." She was a widow Barker, of Deptford, in the County of Kent, 1703, when she gave a letter of attorney to collect property in Salem, which belonged to her father. Six years afterwards she still survived. How he was a parent to John Winthrop, jr. as stated by Roger Williams, is a hard problem, not yet solved. But, whatever were his connexions, and however bitter the cup of his trials here, there is reason to believe, that he has long known the blessedness of celestial relationship, in which there is no disappointment, no alloy, no sin, no sorrow, but assurance, purity, holiness and joy, ever progressive and abounding.

To close, we quote the following lines, under his likeness, in the beginning of his Legacy, composed by some one, like Milton, who faithfully stood for his virtues, amid the denunciations of the throne.

"Lo, heere, the dictates of a dying man!
Marke well his note! who like the expiring swan,
Wisely presaging her approaching doom,
Sings in soft charmes her Epicœdium.
Such, such are his, who was a shining lamp,
Which though extinguisht by a fatal damp,
Yet his last breathings shall, like incense hurl'd,
On sacred alters, soe perfume the world,
That the next will admire and, out of doubt,
Reuere that torch light, which this age put out."

Errata.—p. 6, l. 45, read least for last; p. 11, l. 11, read Thomas for Samuel; p. 22, l. 45, read Peters' for Peters; p. 39, l. 28, read preachers' for preachers.

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